

Number 20

"The Construction of Gender and the Experience of Women
in American Indian Societies"
January 1996

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PREFACE

During the winters of 1995 and 1996, the D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian History hosted two, week-long seminars entitled "The Construction of Gender and the Experience of Women in American Indian Societies" as part of its NEH-sponsored Indian Voices in the Academy program. On each occasion teachers from tribal and mainstream colleges and universities gathered at the Newberry Library to exchange ideas on issues relating to Native American gender as well as to hear presentations by such noted scholars as Beatrice Medicine, Patricia Albers, Raymond Fogelson, A. Lavonne Brown Ruoff, Brenda Child, and Harry Walters. As with the other four Indian Voices seminars, the underlying purpose of the gender meetings was to promote communication and collaboration among college teachers who work in reservation settings and those who teach about Native Americans in largely non-Indian settings.

The essays in this volume of the McNickle Center's Occasional Papers in the Curriculum series are a sample of the many excellent contributions submitted by the gender seminars' participants. They were selected on the basis of their potential interest to the series' broad readership as well as to indicate the rich diversity of topics discussed at the seminars.

Although exceedingly diverse, the essays have been grouped into five sections. Those in section one suggest course outlines, bibliographies, and methodologies for teaching about various aspects of American Indian gender. Section two offers historical and ethnohistoric essays on gender in American Indian communities. The third section

features papers that address gender related subjects in American Indian biography and autobiography. Section four contains an essay on gender and the work of one American Indian poet. The volume concludes with evaluations of the first gender seminar by Peter Iverson, the McNickle Center's Acting Director from 1994 to 1995.

The 1996 gender seminar marked the official conclusion of the Indian Voices program. During its three years, the program provided an unprecedented opportunity for Indian and non-Indian college teachers to share information and exchange views about the teaching and writing of tribal histories. It thus served as the kind of "meeting ground" that the McNickle Center is proud to host.

Indian Voices in the Academy: A program of seminars, fellowships, and publications for tribal college faculty and others who teach American Indian history and culture at colleges and universities. The following syllabus describes the third seminar held at the Newberry Library in this program. The first was on "Indian Leaders and Indian Identity: A Tension Through Time" which was held in January, 1994. The second seminar, as does this one, concerned the "Construction of Gender and the Experience of Women in American Indian Societies." It was held in January, 1995. Other seminars held as part of this program include "Teaching and Writing Local History" seminars held in May, 1993 at Lac Courte Oreilles Community College, June, 1994 at Little Big Horn College, and June, 1995 at Navajo Community College.

**Construction of Gender and the Experience of
Women in American Indian Societies**

January 8-13, 1996
Newberry Library

Monday, January 8--Opening Dinner/Introduction

4:00 pm "Newberry Library Orientation"--Karen Skubish, Main Lobby.

5:30 pm Dinner in the Fellow's Lounge.

7:00 pm Welcome by Director of the D'Arcy McNickle Center, Craig Howe, and introduction of staff members, seminar leaders, and participants. Former Associate Director of the McNickle Center, Brenda K. Manuelito, will give an overview of the "Indian Voices in the Academy" program before seminar leaders Beatrice Medicine, Patricia Albers, Brenda Child and Raymond Fogelson present this week's objectives. These include:

1. Raising issues and questions about the changing ways in which gender and the experience of women in American Indian societies have been considered in history and ethnography.
2. Reviewing theories, interpretations and methods used to study American Indian Women and gender issues in historical and ethnographic writings.
3. Highlighting specific case studies that apply historic and ethnographic perspectives to the study of gender in American Indian communities.
4. Applying historical and ethnographic approaches to tribal colleges, ethnic studies and women's studies curricula.
5. Discussing future directions in historical and ethnographic research on American Indian women and gender, and the production of new courses or scholarly publications.
6. Articulating objectives of the Occasional Papers series and preliminary presentation of topics by participants on Saturday.

Tuesday, January 9--Framing the Study of Gender: Imagery and Identity

8:00 am Continental Breakfast in Room 101.

Each morning of the seminar a short video will be shown during the Continental Breakfast. This morning's video is "Mountain Wolf Woman."

8:30 am "Beyond the Stereotypes: Reconciling the Perspectives of Cultural Insiders and Outsiders"--Pat Albers, Room 101.

Using Clara Sue Kidwell's article as a starting point, Pat Alber's presentation raises questions about the problematic of gender stereotyping in popular and scholarly writings on American Indians. In doing so, she inquires about the relative compatibility or incompatibility of various perspectives that have been followed in constructing images of gender in American Indian societies. She discusses not only how these differing perspectives are nested in contrasting realms of experience and theory, but also how they speak to dissimilar interests and agendas. Finally, she asks how the privileging of multiple voices may impact the course of future gender studies about American Indians.

Required Reading:

Kidwell, Clara Sue. "The Power of Women in Three American Indian Societies." Journal of Ethnic Studies 6 (1979): 113-121.

See also: Pat Albers (Introduction), Katherine Weist, and Alice Kehoe in The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983.

10:15 am "Library Registration"--Hjordis Halvorson, Room 101.

Hjordis Halvorson, Reader Services Librarian, will register all of us so that we may conduct research in the Library.

10:30 am Seminar participants will introduce themselves and briefly discuss their experiences teaching and researching gender issues.

12:30 pm Lunch in the Fellow's Lounge.

1:30 pm Discussion: Pat Albers and Brenda Child will lead a discussion about the relative privileging of different voices in the study of historic and contemporary gender issues in American Indian communities. In addition, questions will be raised about how a stronger representation of American Indian voices might be

facilitated in research/teaching agendas on gender and also how paths might be built for sharing and collaboration among/between higher education faculty at smaller teaching-oriented institutions (tribal, community and small liberal arts colleges) and at larger research-oriented universities.

3:00 pm "Gender Identities and Their Transformations"--Bea Medicine, Room 101.

Bea Medicine will discuss the variability of engendered identities in American Indian communities for women and men, focusing on the roles of warrior women, berdaches, and other transformative gender figures. She will also lead a discussion about the extent to which questions of gender in American Indian communities need to follow conceptual perspectives that differ from those commonly used in studies of Euro-Americans.

Required Readings:

Allen, Paula Gunn. "Lesbians in American Indian Cultures." In The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions. Boston: Beacon Press, 1992.

Jaimes, M. Annette and Theresa Halsey. "American Indian Women: At the Center of Indigenous Resistance in North America." In The State of Native America. Boston: South End Press, 1992.

See also: Raymond DeMallie and Beatrice Medicine in The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983.

4:30 pm "Reference and Special Collections Orientation"--Hjordis Halvorson and Margaret Kulis, Reference and Bibliographic Center.

Hjordis Halvorson and Margaret Kulis, Reference Librarian, will discuss Library procedures.

6:00 pm Dinner in the Fellow's Lounge.

Wednesday, January 10--Framing Gender Studies: From the Past to the Present

8:00 am Continental Breakfast in Room 101.

This morning's video is "Her Mother Before Her: Winnebago Women's Stories of Their Mothers and Grandmothers."

8:30 am "Experiencing Gender in Twentieth-Century Settings"--Brenda Child, Room 101.

Drawing on her own research, as well as the writings of other scholars, this segment considers the roles boarding schools played in the lives of Native American families between the years 1890-1940. It relates this particular kind of experience to the educational and health concerns of American Indian women more generally. Brenda Child will also talk about how letters written by Indian parents and boarding school students may shed light on the histories of Native American women and families.

Required Reading:

Lomawaima, K. Tsianina. "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority Over Mind and Matter." American Ethnologist, Vol. 20, No. 2 (May 1993): 227-240.

10:30 am Discussion: Following her presentation, Brenda Child will be joined by seminar participants Venida Chenault-White and Daniel Wildcat. They will ask seminar participants about boarding school experiences in their own communities, or tribes they have studied.

12:30 pm Lunch in the Fellow's Lounge.

1:30 pm "Introduction to Ayer Collection"--John Aubrey, Room 101.

John Aubrey, Ayer Reference Librarian, will provide an overview of the Ayer and related collections.

2:00 pm "Conceptualizing the Occasional Paper"--Craig Howe, Room 101.

Working in small groups, seminar participants will begin to consider the range, scope, and character of questions (research, community and/or classroom-oriented) that might be addressed in and developed for the Occasional Paper.

2:30 pm Research: Small groups and/or individual seminar participants can pursue an initial investigation of their respective topics and questions through a look at some of the holdings in the Newberry Library.

6:00 pm Dinner in the Fellow's Lounge.

6:45 pm "Contemporary Issues of American Indian Women"--Invited Panel, Fellow's Lounge.

The historical and ethnographic literature on American Indian women leaves gaps in our understanding about contemporary American Indian women's experience. This evening's panelist, Annette Jaimes Guerrero, Christine Lowrey, and Brenda K. Manuelito, will give brief presentations about health, and environmental alcoholism, and intermarriage, respectively.

Thursday, January 11--Framing Gender Knowledge as History,
Ethnography, and Experience

8:00 am Continental Breakfast in Room 101.

This morning's video is "Winnebago Women: Songs and Stories."

8:30 am "Last of the Mohicans"--Raymond Fogelson, Room 101.

Using the diary of the last speaker of the Mohican/ Pequot language as a exemplary case, Ray Fogelson will address the importance of women in maintaining tribal identity.

Required Reading:

"Diary of Mrs. Fielding," in 43rd Annual Report of the *Bureau of American Anthropology*, (1925-1926): 228-251.

10:30 am Discussion: Following Ray Fogelson's presentation, seminar leaders will lead a discussion about the past and present roles of women in perpetuating tribalism.

12:30 pm Lunch in the Fellow's Lounge.

1:30 pm "Conceptualizing the Occasional Paper"--Craig Howe, Room 101.

Seminar participants will continue considering topics for the Occasional Paper by sharing their ideas during a round table discussion.

2:30 pm Research: Seminar participants can continue their investigations of Newberry materials plus meet with seminar leaders for consultation.

5:30 pm Dinner in the Fellow's Lounge. Dinner will be catered by ANAWIM Center, a Chicago Indian Organization.

6:30 pm "An Evening of Chicago American Indian Poetry."--Invited Panel, Fellow's Lounge.

Three Chicago area poets, Julie Hattory, Ed Two Rivers, and Rose Wounded Arrow, will read their original work.

Friday, January 12--Gender Studies and Curriculum Development

8:00 am Continental Breakfast in Room 101.

This morning's video is "Sisters and Friends."

8:30 am "Conceptionalizing the Occasional Paper"--Craig Howe, Room 101.

Discussion of each participant's Occasional Paper topic in light of yesterday afternoon's collection research and discussions with fellow participants and seminar leaders.

9:00 am "Bringing Anthropological Studies of Gender to the Classroom"--Pat Albers and Bea Medicine, Room 101.

This presentation addresses some of the varied ways in which anthropological writings in anthropology by American Indians can be used to teach about gender relations in the classroom. In particular, it discusses how specific bodies of literature might touch upon and illuminate aspects of representation, interpretation, and theory in Ethnic and Women's Studies curriculums.

10:00 am Discussion: Seminar leaders will lead discussion about different ways in which the anthropological contributions of American Indians relevant to gender issues can be introduced into the classroom.

10:30 am "Teaching American Indian History"--Brenda Child and Nancy Maryboy, Room 101.

In this presentation Brenda Child and Nancy Maryboy of Navajo Community College will consider some of the ways in which the study of gender and women can alter the American Indian history curriculum in Indian Studies programs or tribal colleges. Brenda Child will discuss how our understanding of traditional topics in the general American Indian history survey course (the fur trade, removal, allotment, assimilation) may be enhanced by using gender as a theme. Nancy Maryboy will address gender issues and curriculum development for Navajo history when teaching local history to Native students.

12:00 pm Discussion: Seminar leaders will lead a group discussion about the use of historical writings by American Indian women in the classroom.

12:30 pm Lunch in the Fellow's Lounge.

1:30 pm Time for participants to return to their work in the Newberry Library collections."

5:00 pm "Native Streams"--Jan Cicero Gallery, 221 West Erie Street (Optional).

Tonight's reception is for the artist for the artists of an exhibition of contemporary Native America art organized by Jan Cicero Gallery, Chicago, and Indiana State University, Terre Haute, IN.

5:30 pm Dinner "on own."

7:00 pm "Powwow"--Wright College South Campus, 3400 N. Austin (Optional).

Grand entry is at 7:00 pm and the host drum is Milwaukee Bucks.

8:00 pm "Behind Cloister Walls: Nun's Music"--The Newberry Consort, East Hall (Optional). Tonight's presentation by the Newberry Library's critically acclaimed resident ensemble, the Newberry Consort, explores musical contributions of women in convents during the baroque era.

Saturday, January 13--Closing Session/Occasional Paper

8:00 am Continental Breakfast in Room 101.

This morning's video is "Big Sister, Little Sister."

8:30 am "Women Word Warriors: Native American Women Authors of the Late 19th and Early 20th Century"--LaVonne Brown Ruoff, Room 101.

In this presentation, LaVonne Brown Ruoff examines the extent to which the early fiction of American Indian women reflects issues pertaining to Indians and Indian women. She will also discuss the relationship between their fiction and other women writers of that period.

10:00 am Discussion.

10:30 am Presentations on Occasional Paper. Each participant will present their Occasional Paper title and then all participants will help plan an overall outline for the Occasional Paper.

11:45 am Seminar Overview: closing discussion with seminar participants and leaders.

12:15 pm Lunch in Fellow's Lounge.

1:15 pm Time for participants to return to their work in the collections.

5:30 pm Dinner "on own."

Indian Voices Through a Century:
Experiences of Women and Men of the Klamath Tribes,
A Course Proposal

by
Jean Maxwell, with C. Eileen Martinez and Joe David
Southern Oregon State College

Introduction

At its best, collaboration offers fresh perspectives and an invigorating experience. Both emerged from a collaborative endeavor inspired by the January, 1996, Indian Voices seminar at the D'Arcy McNickle Center of the Newberry Library. Several of the seminar presenters gave ideas for course development; and when the participants were asked to give a title or topic area for a paper, I expressed my hope to collaborate with Native students in designing a course to add to the Native American Studies curriculum at Southern Oregon State College (SOSC). Previously, Native students and I have developed sections of courses together and some senior students have taught class sessions, but never before have we teamed up to create an entire course.

Back at school, I asked Eileen Martinez and Joe "Billy" David, two of the students in the Native American Studies Program, if they would like to collaborate in developing a new upper division course for the program. Because of their knowledge and experiences, I knew Eileen and Billy would bring important perspectives to such a course.¹ After looking over the readings and papers from the seminar, they were eager to try. The three of us met over a two month period, and

although we have not finished our work we are far enough along that we can report the results as a draft course design in this paper.

This is an appropriate time to develop a new course for the Native American Studies Program, since some of the usual offerings are no longer available due to attrition of faculty and a restructuring of curriculum in participating departments brought about by six consecutive years of budget cuts in Oregon's higher education. Fortunately, the course can be listed in an already existing slot, "Special Studies in Native North America" (Anthropology 334), which is open-ended and allows for new topics. Since the Special Studies offering is scheduled to be taught in Fall Term of this year, we look forward to trying out our course sooner than might otherwise have been expected.

Foundations of the course

The course emerged out of several sessions of brainstorming and although we did not initially articulate specific objectives, certain basic aims eventually became clear the more that Eileen, Billy, and I talked and spun out ideas. Fundamentally, we created a course that we think will:

1. complement other offerings in the Native American Studies curriculum and also expand learning in new directions;
2. highlight Native American perspectives by inviting Indian people from the region as guest speakers;
3. contextualize and bring out interrelationships in the material; and
4. be relevant for students having varying levels of understanding about Native American cultures.

The broad outlines of the course crystallized quite early in our discussions. Billy put forward the idea that we make our focal point 100 years of Native life experience and factors influencing that experience. He suggested we take the 20th century, which could be brought alive through the memories and oral histories of living Native people. A hundred years is an arbitrary period; nevertheless, the more we worked with the idea and related it to Native people of our area and events of importance to them, the more we were intrigued with the possibilities.

Once we had an overall time frame, it quickly became clear that telling the story from the perspective of the Klamath Tribes would both tie the course together and be a contribution to campus as a whole and to the Native American Studies Program in particular. To our knowledge, no course has ever been offered at Southern Oregon State College on the tribes of the region² Focusing on a local tribe would be a first step in a much needed educational outreach to Native peoples of Southern Oregon. Teachers, counselors, social workers, natural resource administrators, local government officials, and many others who hold influential and decision making positions in the area are trained at SOSC, and there needs to be a course available which will acquaint people such as these with the Native people whom they interact with and serve. There is a pervasive lack of understanding and a considerable amount of misunderstanding about the Native peoples in the region. Hopefully a course such as the one being proposed will make some

inroads against the ignorance, stereotypes, and prejudice that exists.

We decided for several reasons to choose the Klamath Tribes from among the Native groups of the region as the first year's focus of the first year of the course. In the last few years, the College has worked to strengthen its relationship with the Klamath Tribes, and the course would benefit from the established ties through guest speaker arrangements and in turn could help to further enhance the linkage between the Tribes and SOSOC. Klamath tribal communities are relatively close geographically, a one to two hours' drive from the south end of the Rogue Valley where the college is located. This proximity may account for the fact that since as far back as the 1950's, members of the Klamath Tribes have attended Southern more than any other Oregon tribal group. These alumni remain strongly supportive of the college in many ways, and they, as well as Klamath tribal students currently enrolled at SOSOC, will do all they can to facilitate the course.

Once we had established the broad frame of reference (focal time period and tribal perspective), Eileen, Billy and I proceeded to work on the finer details. We divided the 100 years into periods that are relevant to local as well as national happenings which affected Klamath tribal members. Tentatively, the periods are 1900 through the 1930's, the 1940's and 50's, the 1960's and 70's, and the 1980's to the present. These periods have some amount of internal coherence and include events and conditions having pervasive impact, such as the reservation, World War II, termination, and restoration. Since it is crucial

to provide a cultural and historical context, the first three weeks of the course (see draft course outline, below) will cover pre-European ways of life of the Klamath Tribes, colonization, and federal government policies.

For each of the time periods, we plan to invite Klamath tribal members to speak on their life experiences in five major topic areas. The topic areas we have identified are: (1) culture, cultural values, and cultural identity, (2) family, community, and tribe, (3) gender roles and experiences, (4) work and economy, and (5) education. These topic areas will provide the connecting threads through which to view continuity and change during this century. An important element of the design is the inclusion of both women's and men's voices for each time period. This will help give a more balanced and holistic perspective on the topic areas.

In planning the course, we talked about how varied the students will be in the level of knowledge they bring with them. The course needs to be open and flexible enough to allow each person to start from where he or she is at and move to a new level of understanding by the end of the term. Independent readings and projects will be a key component of the course as a way for the students to individualize their learning.

Our terms are ten weeks, a short time for in-depth work. We think, however, that by focusing on this century and on one group, the Klamath Tribes, that the proposed course can provide in-depth learning for the students. And since classes meet for 100 minute blocks, twice a week, we can expect

reasonable development of the selected topic areas and ample discussion. The typical class size (25-30 students) in upper level courses will also facilitate interaction.

Besides their responsibility for keeping up attendance and participating in discussions, students will be asked to submit reflection papers at various points in the term that tie together readings and speakers, follow the five topic areas over time, and synthesize their learning. The papers will be in the place of exams. Students will prepare a written report on the independent project they select and give an oral synopsis of what they learned from the project.

Concluding thoughts

Reflecting on the course, Eileen expressed pleasure that it will provide a safe environment in which to learn about Klamath tribal culture and history and a safe place for these to be shared with other students. Billy talked about how Klamath students who come to campus in the future will feel supported by the presence of this course in the curriculum and how some of those students who are just now learning about their culture will find the course an important stepping stone. We will continue our work to finalize the course and hopefully both Eileen and Billy will be able to return as guest speakers for the class.

Draft Course Outline

Title: Indian Voices Through a Century: Experiences of Women and Men of the Klamath Tribes

Weeks 1 & 2 Pre-European Way of Life and Values
Speaker: Cultural Heritage Specialist, Klamath Tribes

Readings: L. Spier, Klamath Ethnography; A. Gatschet, The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon; M. Barker, Klamath Texts

Week 3 Colonialism and Federal Government Policies

Speaker: History teacher, Klamath tribal member

Readings: J. Zucker, et al., Oregon Indians, Parts II and III; 1864 Treaty with Klamaths, Modocs and Yahooskin Snakes; J. Riddle, The Indian History of the Modoc War

Week 4 A Century of Voices: 1900-30's

Speakers: 2 elders of the Klamath Tribes, both a woman and man

- * Reservation years: culture, family, community, tribe, work
- * Allotment
- * Gender roles and experiences
- * Mission and boarding school experiences

Weeks 5 & 6 A Century of Voices: 1940-50's

Speakers: 2-4 elders of the Klamath Tribes, both women and men

Readings: U.S. House and Senate, Termination Act and Hearings

- * Reservation years: culture, family, community, tribe, work
- * WWII, military service and war industry work
- * Gender roles and experiences
- * Boarding school experiences
- * Events surrounding termination; responses by tribal members

Weeks 7 & 8 A Century of Voices: 1960-70's

Speakers: 2-4 Klamath tribal members, both women and men

- * Termination (loss of federal recognition, reservation, and lands) and the effects on culture, family, community, tribe, and economy; responses by tribal members
- * Gender roles and experiences
- * Boarding school experiences

Weeks 9 & 10 A Century of Voices: 1980-present

Speakers: 2-4 Klamath tribal members, both women and men

- * Restoration of tribe, culture, community, economy
- * Wiping the tears of termination
- * Gender roles and experiences
- * Education experiences

Endnotes

- 1 Eileen Martinez and Joe "Billy" David are enrolled members of the Klamath Tribes and between them represent the three original groups. Eileen is Modoc and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians, and Billy is Klamath and Modoc. Both are graduating seniors, Eileen with a double major in Sociology and Anthropology and Billy with a major in Political Science. Both have completed all requirements in the Native American Studies Program and as such have a direct acquaintance with its current range of courses. Eileen is also past co-chair of the Native American Student Union (NASU), and Billy is presently NASU co-chair.
- 2 These tribes are the Coquille and the Confederated Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw on the coast; the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Indians in the inland mountain valleys; and the Klamath Tribes of the lake, marsh, and high desert country east of the Cascade Mountains. Most of the original people of the valley where the college is located, the Takelma and Rogue Rivers, were killed by frontiersmen and settlers in the 1850's, and survivors were driven from their lands and marched to more northerly reservations and enrolled in the Siletz and Grand Ronde tribes.

Teaching a Cross-Cultural History Course on
Indian, African, and European Women in Early America:
One Approach with Bibliography

by
James Homer Williams
Mesa State College

Rationale

This paper outlines one approach to teaching an upper-level cross-cultural history course on the "women of three worlds" in early America. The three worlds are North America, Africa, and Europe. "Early America" is understood as encompassing the years 1500 to 1800. The area of coverage is North America: present-day Canada, the United States, Mexico, and the Caribbean islands. I had originally hoped to include Meso- and South America but found to my pleasant surprise that there is too much literature on women in these areas to include in a single course. In addition, my training is in North American colonial history, and this served as another reason not to stretch myself too far into Latin America.

To my knowledge, there is no course like the one proposed being taught in the United States. What I hope distinguishes this course from others dealing with early American women--of which there are many as the field expands--is its cross-cultural approach. I am not an expert on European women in colonial America, and I would not be able to teach a survey of American women's history. My particular interest is in how Indian, African, and European women interacted in colonial America. This is the cross-cultural aspect.

Most women's history courses that I have seen for early America focus on women of one of the three groups, usually European,

sometimes Indian, rarely African. Rather than centering a course on colonial European women with African and Indian women on the periphery (as a growing number of courses now do, at least), I am designing this course to give equal treatment to each of the three groups, as much as our current knowledge allows. There is no center or periphery, in other words. To be sure, the experience of women in each group is considered in its own right, but mostly with the purpose of exploring and understanding the contact between women who originated in three remarkably different cultures. I wish to compare and contrast the experience of the "women of three worlds." The underlying question of the course is how much commonality a common sex and gender gave to the experience of a variety of women in early America.

I believe, too, that while this course focuses on women it should not neglect men. Women, of course, did not usually live in isolation from the men in their societies. The best understanding of women, therefore, will be derived by considering women in relation to the men with whom they lived. The experiences of men should be brought in for comparative purposes, not to dominate the course material.

A caveat: I have not yet had the opportunity to teach this course. What follows, therefore, is previsionary and tentative. It has not been tempered in the fire of the classroom. I have not had the benefit of trial and error to see what works and what does not, to find the best readings, and so on. I hope, nonetheless, that the topics and bibliography will prove useful to others as they develop similar courses or as they modify courses they already teach.

In the more than three months since our seminar at the Newberry Library, I have gathered bibliographic references to hundreds of books and essays on the broad topic of women in early North America. I have not had the time to read more than a handful of the material. Nor have I included most of the citations in the bibliography. If I had had more time, I would have annotated the bibliography. As it stands, I have selected the most relevant works, more than one would assign to students but enough to give an instructor the basis for a reading list and enough knowledge to teach the course. I have tried to avoid the temptation to stray from the core topics and to provide references to work that deals with women only in a peripheral way to the focus of this course.

Course Structure

The topics below reflect an assumption that this course would be taught three times weekly in a typical semester system of approximately forty class meetings. Of course, topics could be combined and rearranged to suit a twice weekly schedule. Two or three class periods are vacant to accommodate exams and other activities.

The majority of the course is a topical and comparative examination of women's experiences, usually with a day devoted to each of the three major culture groups followed by a fourth day to compare and contrast the three groups. The last fourth of the course, which focuses on contacts between women of the three groups, is probably the most difficult section of the course to document and teach. However, the beginning three-fourths of the course prepares

the ground for the harvest at the end, when the instructor challenges students to adopt a truly cross-cultural perspective of women in early America.

TOPICS

Day 1. Introduction to the course. NOTE: In the list of daily topics below, European and African coverage is meant for these women in the Americas, although some time should also be spent to clarify the similarities and differences between African women in Africa and the Americas, and European women in Europe and the Americas.

Topic 1: Creation stories--the foundation for a culture's understanding of gender similarities and differences.

Day 2. Creation stories--Indian.

Day 3. Creation stories--African.

Day 4. Creation stories--European.

Day 5. Creation stories--comparison and contrast.

Topic 2: Childhood and puberty--the stage of life in which boys and girls achieve separate gender identities.

Day 6. Childhood and puberty--Indian.

Day 7. Childhood and puberty--African.

Day 8. Childhood and puberty--European.

Day 9. Childhood and puberty--comparison and contrast.

Topic 3: Marriage and motherhood--young women enter a new phase of life through marriage and the production and rearing of children.

Day 10. Marriage and motherhood--Indian.

Day 11. Marriage and motherhood--African.

Day 12. Marriage and motherhood--European.

Day 13. Marriage and motherhood--comparison and contrast.

Topic 4: Labor--the role of women in the economy of their societies.

Day 14. Labor--Indian.

Day 15. Labor--African.

Day 16. Labor--European.

Day 17. Labor--comparison and contrast.

Topic 5: Political and community roles--activities of women as political and community leaders, participants, and followers.

Day 18. Political and community roles--Indian.

Day 19. Political and community roles--African.

Day 20. Political and community roles--European.

Day 21. Political and community roles--comparison and contrast.

Topic 6: Religion--the role of women in religious rituals, education, and leadership.

Day 22. Religion--Indian.

Day 23. Religion--African.

Day 24. Religion--European.

Day 25. Religion--comparison and contrast.

Topic 7: Sex and gender--it is essential to discuss the "normal" and accepted sexual activities and gender identities of women along with how their cultures defined and treated "deviant" behavior such as homosexuality, *berdache*, and third genders among males and females.

Day 26. Sex and gender--Indian.

Day 27. Sex and gender--African.

Day 28. Sex and gender--European.

Day 29. Sex and gender--comparison and contrast.

Topic 8: Contacts between Indian and European women. This week (days 30-32) is devoted to the ways in which Indian and European women came in contact and what the results of that contact was. How did women of one group perceive women in the other group? How did those perceptions change over time? What experiences did these women share?

Topic 9: Contacts between African and European women. This week (days 33-35) is devoted to the ways in which African and European women came in contact, with the same questions as in topic 8.

Topic 10: Contacts between Indian and African women. This week (days 36-38) is devoted to the ways in which Indian and African women came in contact, with the same questions as in topic 8. In terms of intercultural contact between women, this type of contact probably occurred least and is the most difficult to document and discuss. However, literature on slavery, the southern frontier and Caribbean, and maroon communities is beginning to reveal the ways in which Indians and Africans interacted.

Day 39. Conclusion.

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Modifying The Traditional Sociology Multicultural
Course For Graduate Counseling Students:
Native American Exemplar
With Emphasis On Women

by
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'Mexican Americans at my psychotherapy facility in Houston are being labeled as schizophrenic because they think they had a message from the Virgin Mary or other saints. Outside of this, they seem pretty normal, but they are being committed for care,' a Chicano grad student told me after one of our graduate multicultural relations classes. We discussed how various groups, including Native Americans, struggle mightily to achieve visions or dreams from supernatural sources. These cultures support and applaud such revelations, as did Christians in Europe and others elsewhere in earlier years.

The Situation

When I started teaching the graduate Multicultural Relations courses in the Department of Sociology at SWT in 1979, the students were mostly teachers, with assorted sociologists, political scientists, English majors, and historians. The standard textbooks available included the social history and current social conditions of some subordinate groups in the U.S. (Native American, Mexican American, African American, Chinese and Japanese American, women as a minority/subordinate group)--with an occasional chapter on such relationships in other countries. Because there were so many teachers in these classes, I distributed handouts on teaching tips, e.g. cooperative learning groups, conflict-resolution and peer-mediation skills, ethnic materials in the school curriculum, community resource persons, different learning techniques such as visual arts, etc.--along with a bushel basket of handouts on the

various groups and on worldviews and their related theories of minority/majority relations.

In the late 1980s the licensure requirements for counseling changed to incorporate a knowledge of ethnic groups. Our counseling students from the School of Education were given the option of taking either the Multicultural Relations (background social/cultural history) course in the Department of Sociology or the Counseling Diverse Populations (hands-on skills) course taught in the School of Education. After some semesters of asking my students if they had taken or were planning to take the skills course, it became apparent that very few would get both courses. Most of these graduate students in the sociology course will be, or already are, counseling real people on how to deal with their lives. The new culturally-sensitive approaches of cross-cultural counseling have not yet trickled down to all practitioners (or even to some of their teachers in academia). By the same token, I had not revamped my fairly standard approach to teaching social history and current conditions to match the needs of my new clientele in the counseling field who currently make up at least two-thirds of the approximately 120 graduate students in my multicultural classes each year. I am not a trained counselor, but at least I could introduce students to the multicultural counseling literature available as well as the relevant social history and current conditions of subordinate groups in our society.

Some supplemental material would have to be introduced into the course. In recent years more sociology textbooks include sidebar-boxes of statements from someone from the minority group regarding

his/her experiences with racism (DuBois on the color-line, an internee on life in a Japanese American relocation camp in WWII, Suzan Shown Harjo on why she was not celebrating Columbus Day, etc.). While it is stimulating to get a peek at emic personal views of macro social institutional policy and practice on minorities, it does not entirely fill the gap between macro social conditions and micro effects on targeted minority groups and their actions and reactions. For much of this we have to lean on the new cross-cultural counseling research, medical anthropologists, a few sociologists, and linguists working in the area of mental health and cultural meanings. We have to borrow shamelessly from each others' disciplines.

The Course Slowly Changes

Worldviews and the Counselor

I have always begun my courses with "opposing Euroamerican worldviews" on either end of a continuum. As I read more cross-cultural counseling material, I found that approaches to counseling also lean toward one end of the continuum or the other. For many years I have asked students to be able to construct opposing arguments on social issues from two extreme versions of dominant Euroamerican worldviews (Ford 1988). In brief, these opposing views are as follows: (1) The order/consensus worldview assumes no institutional discrimination in the macro social institutional structure and lays minority group problems at the micro-level--minority groups don't try hard enough or they socialize their children into fatalistic "cultural of poverty" behaviors and values. The solution is for the helping professions (teachers, counselors,

social workers, etc.) to assist people to change their values and behaviors to fit the ongoing Anglo system. (2) At the other end of the continuum, the power/conflict worldview calls for examination of the social structure for institutional discrimination and exploitation and urges recognition of minority group cultural values and interests as legitimate. The policy endorsed with this view is to remove discriminatory barriers, economic and cultural exploitation, and, for some therapists, collective action. Students receive handouts on these opposing Euroamerican worldviews and the level of analysis they focus upon, i.e. micro individual characteristics and socialization or macro institutional discrimination, respectively. The handout also describes minority/majority relations theories. The various assimilation theories (Anglo-conformity, melting pot, and cultural pluralism--without discrimination, of course) relate to the order/consensus view. The internal colonialism theory leans on the power/conflict assumptions.

Today I also ask students to examine how these opposing views might be reflected in differing approaches to counseling. Counselors who accept the first rather cheerful view that society is color-blind and gender-fair might be anxious to see clients' problems strictly as individual or minority group failings. Behavior modification or a change in values should enable a client to "fit the system."

On the other hand, recent literature on multicultural/transcultural/diverse culture/cross-cultural counseling tends to come from the second worldview. (see examples in Bibliographies below). Class handouts from Paul Pedersen, Michael

Lerner, and others, strongly criticize the traditionally "culturally encapsulated counselor." Such traditional counselors (and one might add teachers and others in the helping professions) often do not understand or appreciate a client's culture and its meanings. They fail to utilize culturally relevant therapies and they may rely on psychometric measures which are inappropriate. Neither will traditional counselors be likely to encourage pride in one's ethnic history, nor will they be able to help a client understand institutional discrimination which may be contributing to problems at the personal level, according to the supporters of cross-cultural counseling.

Pedersen and others in cross-cultural counseling argue that pride in one's group and understanding the dominant culture and social structure are the major means of empowerment for minorities, individually and collectively. Indeed, they argue that joining in social action with others facing systems problems can be therapeutic. In his book, Surplus Powerlessness, Lerner refers to this understanding and social activism as "liberation therapy." These multicultural counselors do not see uninformed adaptation to what they would term an "exploitive" society as healthy for either the individual, the minority group, or for the society.

General Issues in Multicultural Counseling

Prior to the 1970s much of our approach to mental health was from a medical (biological, disease) model, rather than a holistic model which looks at the social conditions in the environment and what this means to various persons (according to their ethnicity,

gender, age, social class, region, individual experiences). In addition, knowledge of the mental health of different minority groups was anecdotal until recent years when more systematic data began to be collected. There is an ongoing examination of the state-of-the-art of these mental health studies, according to Aponte, Rivers, and Wohl (1995), Kagitcibasi and Berry (1989), Rogler (1989), Segall (1986), Vega and Rumbaut (1991), Worsley (1982), Young (1982), and others in the cross-cultural counseling movement:

(1) Our diagnostic tools are improving but still need refining vis a vis cultural understanding, e.g. CES-D (Center for Epidemiological Studies-Depression), DIS (Diagnostic Interview Schedule), AIDS (American Indian Depression Schedule), etc. are just a beginning. We have "back-translation," which translates English interview schedules into the target group's language and then others knowledgeable in the language and culture translate it back into English to see if the categories and meanings mesh. This catches some discrepancies in meanings between cultures/languages. Still we need more work on the meanings and categories that subcultures attribute to illness and mental problems. Symptoms checklists, such as the above, are a start--and cheap and easy to administer--but need interpretation from the culture.

Ideas of what causes mental and physical illness differ widely across cultures, and thinking something is reality often makes it real in effect. "Category fallacy" is the term used for putting everyone in-the-same-bag on meanings of mental and physical illness, despite cultural differences on these ideas. Note that one-size-fits-all interview schedules and checklists can be reliable (i.e.

people answer the same way and the questions cluster on factor analysis), but they may not be valid (i.e. they are not measuring what they claim);

(2) NIMH and other mental illness studies funding sources tend to adhere to a medical model which ignores cultural factors. New cross-cultural counselors flay this model as inept and counter-productive. Medical prescriptions, electric shock, and (at one time) lobotomies, are quick medical model answers to more complex mental health problems;

(3) Underutilization of mental and physical health care facilities is caused by both cultural orientation and discrimination in entering and treatment by such facilities;

(4) Folk healing methods have often been ignored in the past, but could be incorporated into the practice of dominant group "helpers" when possible and appropriate. Some physicians and mental health practitioners are now realizing that illness can be psychosomatic and are coordinating their efforts with shamans, curanderos, and family or other support groups when the problem is spiritual/mental causing of physical symptoms;

(5) "Demoralization" is often mistaken for severe depression and other clinical caseness symptoms. ("Caseness" means that individuals are over-the-line on "normal" behavior and unable to fulfill their social roles and are remitted to a facility for assistance.) Low socioeconomic status, poor physical health (often, poor living conditions and inadequate health care) are correlated with mental illness. Some studies find that when education, occupational status, and family income are controlled for, Native

American and other minority differences in mental health are not statistically significant. (For example, Kagitcibasi and Berry 1989; Vega and Rumbaut 1991). Native Americans have an extremely high case rate, particularly in adolescent and young adult years. Suicide rates are about 3 times the U.S. average and run 10 times the average on some reservations when a suicide "epidemic" occurs. Native American alcoholism rates are the highest in the U.S.--which also lead to early death by suicide and accident--and may have both social and genetic causes. (The "thrifty gene" may metabolize alcohol and other glucose differently, according to some researchers, making Native Americans more susceptible to alcoholism and diabetes ("Health Gap" 1989).) While research is not definitive on the genetic factor, the rates of both alcoholism and diabetes are not in question--50 percent or more on both factors on some reservations;

(6) While refugees who have come in under traumatic circumstances have higher incidences of mental health problems in the short-run, other immigrants often seem to have fewer problems than native-born minorities who have been here for generations. We return to this historically engendered traumatization below.

In addition to a better knowledge of each culture's beliefs about mental health, the experiences of each minority group in terms of its historical context are needed, not just people's current feelings of well-being. What conditions did they encounter before coming here, what conditions did they meet on arrival? What have been the effects of racism? What generational differences are there? The culturally-sensitive counselor will not only have to be well read in the history of a group, but will have to mingle in the community and

attend public and private (when invited) ceremonies to gain understanding.

Native Americans

Native Americans make a particularly good exemplar for introducing counseling ideas into my classes for several reasons: (1) Students have always found the social history and current conditions of Native Americans particularly interesting; (2) Traditional Native Americans have a worldview which is quite different from those of Euroamerican society, making it a clear-cut alternative example; (3) In the early 1990s I recorded 24 videotaped interviews with Native American women community leaders from 13 tribes, including some counselors whose views I have edited into a tape I use in class. Also I use a tape called "The Multicultural Family" (1992) in which Black and Native American counselors discuss the importance of ethnic group children placed in Anglo foster families learning their group's history and being included in ethnic group activities; and (4) Gender issues are more familiar to me in Native American groups than in Asian, African, or Latin American groups (Ford, 1996 forthcoming).

As with other groups, the body of literature on Native Americans and mental health has expanded rapidly since the 1970s. PsycLit on CD-ROM yields 426 abstracts of journal articles on "American Indians" from 1990 through 1995, 846 entries between 1976 and 1989, and the data base on chapters in books contains 197 entries since 1987. There are numerous journals which deal with Native American and other minority mental health issues, either on a routine basis or sporadically. In addition, there are dozens of Web-sites on the Net

which deal with Native Americans--e.g. health, tribal homepages, women's groups, Indian Health Service, Indian census material, native organizations, programs at universities, and even recipes (Mortensen 1996).

The literature includes diverse areas such as: therapeutical use of sweat lodges; traditional talking circles; peyote ceremonies; support groups; and traditional healers; substance abuse; contemporary native women's role flexibility and political activism; child welfare; use of humor, art work, and storytelling in counseling; use of traditional history and values to prevent dropouts and suicides; understanding native cultures and worldviews in counseling approaches; native veterans concerns; different learning styles; and so forth.

After reading the text (Schaefer 1996) and assorted handouts on Native Americans and viewing "Spirit of Crazy Horse" (1990), which depicts a little Lakota history and various Lakota (power/conflict and traditional) and local "redneck" Anglo (order/consensus) points-of-view, we discuss a generalized traditional Native American worldview. This includes such ideas as: The total environment as something to be respected and negotiated with rather than conquered; time viewed as cyclical rather than linear; gender relations as complementary rather than patriarchal; kinship systems as the traditional organizing unit (kinship may be reckoned differently than in the dominant Anglo system); traditional respect for individual autonomy but emphasis more on group interdependence and cooperation than intragroup individual competition; sharing of resources (e.g. potlatches, giveaway ceremonies, marriage exchanges).

The students have a table of matrilineal, bilateral, and patrilineal Native American groups (Ford 1996 forthcoming). Gender and kinship relationships and how they have been affected by Euroamerican colonialist policies and practices are discussed. Women's statuses in our many native matrilineal horticultural societies, as well as those with other kinship arrangements who were nonetheless complementary in gender roles, took "a turn for the worse" with contact. Patriarchy was introduced in various times and places by the legal system, education (missionary, BIA boarding schools, and later public schools), Christian religion, and political and economic systems of the dominant society. The traditional roles of men and women in the matrilineal Iroquois confederation, the Five Civilized Tribes, the Algonquin and Athapaskan groups, the Hopi and western Apaches, the Texas Wichitas and Tonkawas and Caddoans and Natchezs, etc. are discussed. The point that our largest groups today--the Cherokee and Navajo--are matrilineal is of much interest.

Women activists today are citing their earlier roles in creation stories, kinship systems, and traditional flexible role alternatives as justification for their current activism and leadership. For example, many of the 27 tribally-controlled colleges are headed by women; 25 percent of tribal council or chieftainship roles are held by women. Women are spearheading grassroots community groups for many local issues, including political/legal, health, education, cultural preservation, environmental, and economic questions (Paul and Perkinson 1995). Although the present situation of many Native American groups must be considered grim in terms of general quality

of life (income, health, self-determination, education, housing, etc.), women are now emerging to lead community improvement groups.

Self-help support groups for women, such as the Sacred Shawl Society, the White Buffalo Calf Woman Society, Tewa Women United, Winyan Wasoka Project, "include traditional values to facilitate improved coping skills and self-determination" (Braveheart-Jordan and DeBruyn 1995, p. 363). Some of these are new programs, while others are revivals of traditional groups with a new twist. Youth clubs, survival camps, and school curricula are fostered by many tribes to give young people a knowledge of their traditions and self-esteem. Often these have been initiated after an outbreak of suicides on a reservation. Children and adults (especially those relocated to urban areas under government policy in the 1950s and '60s) are learning their native languages through workbooks and computer-based programs. Community-wide traditional ceremonials have been conducted to assuage grief and bond communities, e.g. reburial of ancestral bones returned from museums, commemoration of the Massacre at Wounded Knee, etc.

Maria Braveheart-Jordan and Lemyra LeBruyn (1995, p. 365) put the Native American situation in this manner:

We conclude that healing Native American Indian women must involve the incorporation and reclaiming of the communal traditional spiritual, social, and cultural power of Indian women, regardless of, and with all respect for, different individual Indian women's beliefs and religious affiliations of modern times. The healing efforts we propose and which already exist are those of empowerment inspired by traditional sociocultural and spiritual power which utilize indigenous models.

The healing of Native American Indian women will never be complete without the identification of traditional and modern ways for Indian men to renew their power and complementary roles. Hence, we also call for and strongly

acknowledge the need for restoring complementary relationships with Indian men who need to reclaim their traditional power as well.

By the time we have discussed Spanish and U.S. policies and practices over the last 500 years and the more recent situation, students have a better grip on why traditional Native Americans may have problems with today's society. The past has been a traumatic experience (Stannard 1992). It becomes clear why a people with such a different view of the world, treated over the centuries as they were, and facing the current situation, should have "problems" as seen by them and the dominant society. Of course, the dominant society tends to see Indians themselves as the problem. This is the order/consensus view--"Why don't they just give up and conform, assimilate." Meanwhile traditional Native Americans see the dominant society as the problem--from the power/conflict view on top of a distinct worldview of their own--"Honor our treaties, give us self-determination, and stop the exploitation of our culture and resources." What is surprising to students is that any group has been able to resist the onslaught at all.

This has not been without cost. It was mentioned earlier that the cross-cultural counseling literature indicates a traumatization of groups which have been exploited economically and culturally for generations. After examining the positive outcomes of the many grassroots efforts by native women's groups in healing themselves and their communities through reclaiming traditions, Braveheart-Jordan and DeBruyn (1995: 365) conclude:

By no means is the research on or understanding of the impact of historical trauma on Native American Indian populations complete. Rather, it has just begun. We call for additional American Indian-specific research on grieving

the losses resulting from massive human trauma, similar to the literature on Jewish holocaust survivors. We underline the need for tribal programs, Indian Health Service, and Bureau of Indian Affairs human services personnel to receive training on historical trauma and its clinical manifestations.

Some of those who have fought back have been traditional women who did not understand the system when they began to fight it but learned as they went, e.g. Mary and Carrie Dann, Roberta Blackgoat, and others. Many Native Americans have deliberately learned the skills of the dominant society in order to preserve traditional values and obtained degrees from Harvard or elsewhere to do this. This is a brain-twister in biculturalism for students--that people can learn the skills of the dominant society in order to preserve their traditional values. A lawyer who successfully defends tribal treaty rights before the Supreme Court and then goes through a traditional healing ceremony to regain personal balance and harmony is a new concept (Williams 1990). How can people go through years of immersion in the dominant culture education system without selling out to its values? They seem to keep an objective approach probably few of us have and endure years of pain to pursue their aim of assisting community health and sovereignty. They remain traditional while learning to fight the system with its own tools.

Traditional Indians are quick to say that humans are perhaps the most frail and fickle of the Creator's works (Williams 1990). They do not over-romanticize humans as more noble or deserving of "mastery" over the rest of the cosmos. These thoughts are the best opportunity in this course for students to step outside of Western thinking and ask where the whole society (including our influence on global thought and condition) is going. Lerner, Pedersen, and others in the

cross-cultural counseling movement seem to suggest this as they challenge the narrow Eurocentric colonial thinking of traditional psychotherapy.

Conclusion

In summary, the importance of knowledge of and appreciation for minority social histories and cultures becomes clear as we proceed through centuries of Native American/Euroamerican relations. This is the first ethnic group we study and the students seem genuinely shocked at colonialism, past and present. Only a few will be conversant with some of the historical material from undergraduate anthropology or ethnic history classes; most have had the standard fare of public school education and the media. Students usually find the power/conflict worldview and the internal colonialism theory of minority/majority relations easy to accept, given the weight of the evidence. (Note that students are not required to accept any particular worldview or theory, just be able to describe and discuss them all and to construct arguments from both sides on any current issue I hand them.) From the cross-cultural counseling material, both video and written, students have some introduction to this field in terms of its philosophy, materials, and some possible skills applications. It is a beginning for their own self-awareness and self-education as they work with culturally-different clients with apparent psychiatric and/or psychosomatic illnesses, substance abuse, aging, school dropouts, family violence, prisoners and parole and probation, veterans, suicide (both those at-risk and those left behind by a suicide), school students and their parents and career

counseling, job training, gender/generational/family/and peer group counseling and mediation, pastoral counseling, and physical rehabilitation.

As several students who are practicing counselors have told me in various ways, "If I had known this before, I think I would have been a much more effective counselor over the years. Worse, what damage have I done by not knowing where people were possibly coming from? Thank goodness I know where to start now. It's a lesson in both what to do and in 'damage control.'"

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AMERICAN INDIAN LITERATURE AND BACKGROUNDS:
A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY
FOR HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

by
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Guide to Reading Levels: 1--middle school through sophomore,
2--sophomore through senior, 3--senior or above

Note: Although poetry anthologies are included, poetry books by individual authors are not. These are listed in Ruoff, American Indian Literatures (New York: Modern Language Association, 1990).

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_____. A Biobibliography of Native American Writers, 1772-1924: A Supplement. Native American

Murdock, George P. Ethnographic Bibliography of North America. 4th ed., rev. by Timothy J. O'Leary. 5 vols. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1975.

Porter, Frank W., III. Indians of North America Series. New York: Chelsea House, 1987ff. Designed for middle and high school. Volumes on all major tribes, American Indian literature, women, urban Indians. Most now published.

Prucha, Francis P., comp. A Bibliographic Guide to the History of Indian-White Relations in the United States. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1977.

_____, comp. Indian-White Relations in the United States. A Bibliography of Works Published 1975-1980. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1982.

Ruoff, A. LaVonne Brown. American Indian Literatures: An Introduction, Bibliographic Review, and Selected Bibliography. New York: Modern Language Association, 1990. Most comprehensive guide to the field. Surveys oral and written literature, analyzes reference works, collections and anthologies, and scholarship. Contains an extensive bibliography.

_____. Literature of the American Indian. New York: Chelsea House, 1990. Overview of oral and written Native American literature written for middle- and high-school readers. Many pictures and illustrations.

Stensland, Anna, comp. Literature by and about the American Indian: An Annotated Bibliography. 2nd ed., with Aune M. Fadum. Urbana, IL: NCTE, 1979.

_____. Literature by and about the American Indian: An Annotated Bibliography for Junior and Senior High School Students. Urbana, IL: NCTE, 1972.

Wiget, Andrew W., ed. Dictionary of Native American Literature. Reference Library of the Humanities 1815. New York: Garland, 1994. Brief biographies and analysis of fields, genres, and authors' works. An essential reference.

Witalec, Janet, ed. Native North American Literature. Detroit: Gale Research, 1994. Brief biographies and quotations from reviews of works by Native authors in the U.S. and Canada. An essential reference.

II. ANTHOLOGIES AND COLLECTIONS

Allen, Paula Gunn (Laguna/Sioux). Grandmothers of the Light: A Medicine Woman's Sourcebook. Boston: Beacon. Allen's reinterpretations of oral narratives. 1

_____. ed. Spider Woman's Granddaughters: Traditional Tales and Contemporary Writing by Native American Women. Boston: Beacon, 1989. Good general collection; not always accurate in its introductions. 2

_____, ed. Voice of the Turtle: American Indian Literature, 1900-1970. One World. New York: Balantine, 1994.

Armstrong, Virginia, ed. I Have Spoken: American History through the Voices of the Indians. Introd. Frederick W. Turner III. Athens: Swallow-Ohio UP, 1971. 1

Barnouw, Victor, ed. Wisconsin Chippewa Myths and Tales and Their Relationship to Chippewa Life. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1977. Good collection of midwestern trickster with controversial Jungian interpretations. 2

Bierhorst, John, ed. Four Master Works of American Indian Literature. 1974. Tucson: U of Arizona P, 1984. Contains abbreviated versions of the Navajo Night Chant and Iroquois Condolence Ritual. 3

Bruchac, Joseph, III (Abenaki), ed. New Voices from the Longhouse: An Anthology of Contemporary Iroquois Writing. Greenfield Center: Greenfield Review, 1989. 1

_____, ed. Raven Tells Stories: An Anthology of Alaskan Native Writing. Greenfield Center: Greenfield Review Press, 1991. Poetry, fiction, drama; contains personal statements by authors. 1

_____, ed. Returning the Gift: Poetry and Prose from the First North American Native Writers' Festival. Sun Tracks 29. Tucson: U of Arizona, 1994. 1

- _____, ed. Songs from This Earth on Turtle's Back: Contemporary American Indian Poetry. Greenfield Center: Greenfield Review, 1983. 1
- Bierhorst, John, ed. Four Master Works of American Indian Literature. 1974. Tucson: U of Arizona P, 1984. Contains abbreviated versions of the Navajo Night Chant and Iroquois Condolence Ritual. 3
- Bruchac, Joseph, III (Abenaki), ed. New Voices from the Longhouse: An Anthology of Contemporary Iroquois Writing. Greenfield Center: Greenfield Review, 1989. 1
- _____, ed. Raven Tells Stories: An Anthology of Alaskan Native Writing. Greenfield Center: Greenfield Review Press, 1991. Poetry, fiction, drama; contains personal statements by authors. 1
- _____, ed. Returning the Gift: Poetry and Prose from the First North American Native Writers' Festival. Sun Tracks 29. Tucson: U of Arizona, 1994. 1
- _____, ed. Songs from This Earth on Turtle's Back: Contemporary American Indian Poetry. Greenfield Center: Greenfield Review, 1983. 1
- Day, A. Grove, ed. Poetry of the American Indians. Lincoln: U of Nebraska, 1964. Good collection of traditional songs. 1
- Cruikshank, Julie, Angela Sidney, Kitty Smith, and Annie Ned. Life Lived like a Story: Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders. American Indian Lives Ser. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1991. Superb collection of autobiographies, which won the 1992 Macdonald prize for the best book on Canadian history. 3
- Evers, Larry, ed. The South Corner of Time: Hopi, Navajo, Papago, Yaqui Tribal Literature. Sun Tracks 6. Tucson: U of Arizona P, 1980. Excellent collection with careful introductions, notes, and bibliographies. 1
- Gattuso, John, ed. A Circle of Nations: Voices and Visions of American Indians. Foreword by Leslie Marmon Silko. Introd. by Michael Dorris. Hillsboro, OR: Beyond Words Pub., 1993. Photographs and short autobiographies by Indian authors.
- Green, Rayna (Cherokee), ed. That's What She Said: Contemporary Poetry and Fiction by Native American Women. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1984. 1
- Grinnell, George Bird. Blackfoot Lodge Tales. 1892. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1962. 1
- _____. By Cheyenne Campfires. 1926. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1971. 1

- _____. Pawnee Hero stories and Folk Tales: With Notes on the Origin, Customs, and Character of the Pawnee People. 1889. Introd. Maurice Frink. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1961. Grinnell is a skilled storyteller. 1
- Hirshfelder, Arlene B., and Beverly R. Singer, eds. Rising Voices: Writing of Young Native Americans. New York: Scribner, 1992. Poems and Essays. 1
- Hobson, Geary (Cherokee), ed. The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Contemporary Native American Literature. 1979. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1981. 1
- Katz, Jane, ed. Messengers of the Wind: Native American Women Tell Their Life Stories. New York: Ballantine, 1995. Autobiographies. 1
- King, Thomas, ed. All My Relations: An Anthology of Contemporary Canadian Native Fiction. American Indian Literature and Critical Studies Series, 4. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1992.
- Lerner, Andrea, ed. Dancing on the Rim of the World: An Anthology of Contemporary Northwest Native American Writing. Fiction and Poetry; contains biographical statements by authors. Includes authors who are from or who have lived in the Northwest. 2
- Littlefield, Daniel F., Jr., and James Parins, eds. Native Voices from the American Southeast. Jackson: U of Mississippi, 1995. Early twentieth-century literature, primarily by authors from Oklahoma tribes. 1
- Lowenstein, Tom, trans. Eskimo Poems from Canada and Greenland. Pittsburgh: U of Pittsburgh P, 1973. 1
- Malotki, Ekkehart, and Michael Lomatuway'ma (Hopi). Hopi Coyote Tales/ Instutuwutsi. 1978. American Tribal Religions 9. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1984. 1
- Niatum, Duane (Klallam), ed. Carriers of the Dream Wheel: Contemporary Native American Poetry. Native American Ser. San Francisco: Harper, 1975. A solid collection. 1
- _____. Harper's Anthology of 20th Century Native American Poetry. New York: Harper, 1988. Includes more authors than previous volume and new works by authors included in volume above. 1
- Peyer, Bernd, ed. The Singing Spirit: Early Short Stories by North American Indians. Tucson: U of Arizona P, 1989. Stories published from 1889 through 1936. 1
- Regier, Willis, ed. Masterpieces of American Indian Literature. Planetarium Station: MFJ Books, 1993. Includes George Copway (Ojibwe), Black Elk (Lakota Sioux), Charles Eastman (Dakota

Sioux), Mourning Dove (Colville), and Zitkala-Sa (Lakota Sioux).
1

Roscoe, Will, ed. Living the Spirit: A Gay American Indian Anthology.
Stonewall Inn. New York: St. Martin's, 1988.

Rosen, Kenneth, ed. The Man to Send Rain Clouds: Contemporary Stories
by American Indians. New York: Viking, 1974. Good collection,
primarily of stories by Leslie Marmon Silko. 1

_____, ed. Voices of the Rainbow: Contemporary Poetry by American
Indians. New York: Viking, 1975. 1

Sanders, Thomas E. (Cherokee), and Walter W. Peek
(Narragansett/Wampanoag), eds. The Literature of the American
Indian. New York: Glencoe, 1973. Designed for use in high
schools but not a good collection. 1

Sands, Kathleen Mullen, ed. Circle of Motion: Arizona Anthology of
Contemporary American Indian Literature. Fiction and poetry by
authors who are from or who have lived in Arizona. Includes
biographies of the authors. 2

Sarris, Greg (Pomo/Coast Miwok), ed. The Sound of Rattles and
Clappers: A Collection of New California Indian Writing. Sun
Tracks 26. Tucson: U of Arizona P, 1994. 1

Swann, Brian, ed. Coming to Light: Contemporary Translations of the
Native Literatures of North America. New York: Random, 1994.
New York: Vintage, 1995.

Swann, Brian, and Arnold Krupat, eds. I Tell You Now:
Autobiographical Essays by Native American Writers. American
Indian Lives Ser. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1987. 2

Theiz, R. D., ed. Buckskin Tokens: Contemporary Oral Narratives of
the Lakota. Rosebud, SD: Sinte Gleska College, 1975. 1

Thompson, Stith, ed. Tales of the North American Indians. 1929.
Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1966. Abbreviated stories with notes. 1

Trafzer, Clifford (Wyandot), ed. American Indian Writers. Spec.
issue of Fictional International 20 (1991). San Diego: San Diego
State U P.

_____, ed. Earth Song, Sky Spirit: Short Stories of the
Contemporary Native American Experience. New York: Doubleday,
1993. 1.

Underhill, Ruth Murray. Singing for Power: The Song Magic of the
Papago Indians of Southern Arizona. 1979. Lincoln: U of Nebraska
P, 1981. Good introduction with excellent ethnographic narrative.

2

Velie, Alan R., ed. American Indian Literature: An Anthology. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1979. Rev ed. enl., 1991. Not very comprehensive and lacks adequate and accurate introductions and notes. 2

_____, ed. The Lightning Within. Lincoln: U of Nebraska, 1991. Anthology of contemporary fiction. 1 through adult.

Vizenor, Gerald, ed. (Ojibwa). Touchwood: A Collection of Ojibwe Prose. St. Paul: New Rivers, 1987. 2

Walters, Anna Lee (Pawnee/Otoe-Missouria), ed. Neon Pow-Wow: New Native American Voices in the Southwest. Flagstaff: Northland, 1993.

III. AMERICAN INDIAN AUTHORS--FICTION, NONFICTION, AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Narrated life histories are designated by *; for these narratives and autobiographies, the name of the author is given first, followed by the name(s) of the collaborator(s).

Alexie, Sherman (Coeur d'Alene, Spokane). The Business of Fancydancing: Stories and Poems. Brooklyn: Hanging Loose, 1992. 1.

_____, The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven. New York: Atlantic Monthly, 1993. Fiction. In a series of short narratives, Alexie vividly captures the humor and pain of contemporary life on the Spokane Reservation. 1

_____. Reservation Blues. New York: Atlantic Monthly, 1995. Fiction. The mythic and musical story of Coyote Springs, an all-Indian Catholic rock-and-roll band and their adventures in on the Spokane reservation and in Seattle and Manhattan. Using narrative, newspaper excerpts, songs, journals, visions, radio interviews, and dreams, Alexie examines the impact of assimilation and Christianity on Native Americans, as well as the relations between Indian men and women. 3

Allen, Paula Gunn (Laguna/Sioux). Grandmothers of the Light: A Medicine Woman's Source Book. Boston: Beacon, 1991. Allen's reinterpretations of traditional narratives. 2

Apess, William (Pequot). On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess. Ed. Barry O'Connell. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1992. Includes two versions of the autobiography and the protest writing of this influential early nineteenth-century writer. 2

Bell, Betty Louise (Cherokee). Faces in the Moon. American Indian Literature and Critical Studies Series 9. Norman: U of Oklahoma, 1994. Fiction. 1. Richly imagined story of three generations of

Cherokee women as viewed by the youngest, based on Bell's own family stories.

*Black Elk (Sioux). John G. Neihardt. Black Elk Speaks. 1932. Introd. Vine Deloria, Jr. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1979. Autobiography. 3

*Black Hawk (Sauk). Antoine Le Claire and John B. Patterson. Black Hawk, an Autobiography. 1833. Ed. with new introd. Donald Jackson. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1955. Autobiography. 1

Blue Cloud, Peter (Mohawk). Elderberry Flute Song: Contemporary Coyote Tales. Trumansburg: Crossing, 1982. Narrative poetry and short stories. 1

*Blowsnake, Sam [Big Winnebago and Crashing Thunder] (Winnebago). Paul Radin. The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian. 1926. Foreword and appendix Arnold Krupat. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1983. Autobiography. 3

Brant, Beth (Mohawk). Food and Spirits. Ithaca: Firebrand, 1991. Short fiction. The stories focus on going home to the physical space of ancestral land and to one's interior space. Includes Brant's retelling of the Mohawk origin myth. 2

_____. Mohawk Trail. Ithaca: Firebrand, 1985. Short fiction and poetry. 2

_____. Writing as Witness: Essay and Talk. Toronto: Women's Press, 1994. Nonfiction.

*Brave Bird, Mary [formerly Crow Dog] (Lakota Sioux). Richard Erdoes. Ohitika Woman. New York: Grove, 1993; New York: HarperCollins, 1994. Autobiography.

Bruchac, Joseph (Abenaki). Dawnland. Golden: Fulcrum, 1993. Fiction. Set about 10,000 years ago in the Northeast, the novel describes the adventures of Young Hunter (Abenaki), who defends his people. An action-packed saga that illuminates the lives of pre-contact native people. 1

_____. Long River. Golden: Fulcrum, 1995. Long River continues the story of Young Hunter (Abenaki), now a grown man and husband. Under the guidance of village seers and tribal elders, Young Hunter increases his ability to see future events recognizes the interconnectness of all aspects of life. Armed with this knowledge, he faces the threats of a gigantic beast and the last survivor of the Ancient ones he defeated in Dawnland. A rousing adventure story and sensitive treatment of Abenaki mythology. 1

Carter, Forrest [Asa] (Cherokee). The Education of Little Tree. 1979. Foreword Rennard Strickland (Cherokee). Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1986. Fiction. Has a middle-school age boy as its hero. Originally published as fictionalized autobiography. 1

*Chona, Maria (Papago). Ruth Murray Underhill. The Autobiography of a Papago Woman. 1936. New York: Holt, 1979. Autobiography. 1

Conley, Robert (Cherokee). Windsong. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1992. An historical novel focusing on the love story of a couple separated by the Trail of Tears. 2

_____. The Witch of Goingsnake and Other Stories. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1988. Short fiction, both new and reinterpretations of traditional stories. 2

Cook-Lynn, Elizabeth (Lakota Sioux). From the River's Edge. New York: Arcade, 1991. Fiction. Chronicles the attempts by a Dakotah cattleman to reconcile the unavenged thefts of culture and honor, his traditional way of life and his cattle, his relationship with his wife and that with his mistress. Powerful evocation of the dilemmas faced by contemporary Sioux. 3

_____. The Power of Horses and Other Stories. New York: Arcade, 1990. A fine collection of short stories about contemporary Sioux. 3

_____. Then Badger Said This. 1977. Fairfield: Ye Galleon, 1983. Poetry, narratives, autobiography. 2

Deloria, Ella C. (Lakota Sioux). Waterlily. Biography by Agnes Picotte. Afterword Raymond J. DeMallie. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1988. Fiction. Traces life of a Sioux girl from girlhood through womanhood. 1

Deloria, Vine, Jr. (Lakota Sioux). Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto. 1969. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1988. Nonfiction. Good example of Indian protest writing that contains an interesting chapter on Indian humor. 2

*Delorme, Eugene (Dakota Sioux), and Inez Cardozo-Freeman. Chief: The Life History of Eugene Delorme, Imprisoned Santee Sioux. American Indian Lives Series. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1994.

Dorris, Michael A. (Modoc). A Yellow Raft on Blue Water. New York: Holt, 1987. New York: Warner, 1988. Fiction. Tells the stories of three generations of women torn apart by secrets by bound by kinship. One of the protagonists is a teenage girl of Indian and African American heritage. 2

_____. Paper Trail: Essays. New York: HarperCollins, 1994. Essays about growing up and about Native American issues. 1

_____. Working Men. New York: Holt, 1993. Short Fiction. Stories in the voices of men and women from a variety of regions and backgrounds; includes one Indian story. 2.

Downing, Todd (Choctaw). The Mexican Earth. 1940. 2nd ed. Foreword by Wolfgang Hochbruck. American Indian Literature and Critical

Studies Series 20. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1996. Using the travelogue form, Downing traces the history of Mexico from the period before contact through the 1930s. It might be called a nonfiction novel. 3

Dudley, Joseph Iron Eye (Lakota Sioux). Chouteau Creek: A Sioux Reminiscence. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1992. New York: Warner, 1994. Autobiography. Dudley gives a vivid account of growing up with his grandparents on the Yankton Sioux Reservation in the 1940s and 1950s. 1

Eastman, Charles A. (Santee Sioux). From the Deep Woods to Civilization. 1916. Introd. Raymond Wilson. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1977. Autobiography. 2

_____. Old Indian Days. 1907. Introd. by A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1991. Divided into stories about boys and men and about girls and women. 1

Erdrich, Louise (Ojibwe). Beet Queen. 1986. New York: Bantam, 1987. Set in Argus, an off-reservation town, between 1932- 72. Focuses on the interrelationships between two cousins and their mixed-blood friend. 3

_____. Bingo Palace. New York: HarperCollins, 1994. Fiction. Lipsha Morrissey returns to the reservation and falls in love with the beautiful Shawnee Ray, who is involved with Lyman Lamartine, a reservation entrepreneur. Focuses on Lipsha's conflict of choosing success and meaning, love and money, future and past. 3

_____. The Blue Jay's Dance: A Birth Year. New York: HarperCollins, 1995; Harper Perennial, 1996. Autobiography. A beautifully crafted and emotionally powerful description of the physical and emotional dimensions of pregnancy and new motherhood in the course of one year. Blending descriptions of nature and her own experiences, Erdrich creates a moving philosophical autobiography which might be considered a mother's answer to Thoreau. 2-3.

_____. Love Medicine. 1984. New York: Bantam, 1987. Fiction. Interconnected stories humorously and dramatically portray through several generations the families of one man and the two women he loves and who love him. 3

_____. Tales of Burning Love. New York: HarperCollins, 1996. Fiction. Tragic-comic stories of wild romance and crazy fate. After the death of Jack Mauser, his four wives and the ghostly figure suggesting a dead quasi wife, gather at a bar for a wake. As they drive home, they are trapped by a snowstorm. Through their wait during the night, each woman tells her story of her relationship with Jack. 3

_____. Tracks. 1988. New York: Harper, 1989. Fiction. Set in 1912-1919 in North Dakota. Focuses on Fleur Pillager, who seems to possess shamanistic powers and is fiercely tied to the land;

- Nanapush, an old man of lusty wit named after that tribe's culture hero-and trickster; and Pauline, a jealous, venal mixed-blood. 3
- Gish, Robert (Cherokee). First Horses, Stories of the New West. Reno: U of Nevada P, 1993. Short stories describing the multi-ethnic, contemporary West. 1
- _____. When Coyote Howls: Lavaland Fable. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1994. Fiction. The story of Coyote's quest to find his lost voice. 2
- Glancy, Diane (Cherokee). Firesticks. American Indian Literature and Critical Studies Series. Norman: U of Oklahoma, 1993. Short Fiction. A powerful work incorporating fiction, nonfiction, drama, and poetry. Uses the motif of transformation through flight. 3
- Hale, Janet Campbell (Coeur d'Alene/Kootenai). Bloodlines: Odyssey of a Native Daughter. New York: Random, 1993. New York: HarperCollins, 1994. Autobiographical essays. Through research and memory, the author chronicles her ancestor's history and her own experiences while growing up in a dysfunctional family. 2
- _____. The Jailing of Cecelia Capture. 1985. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1987. Fiction. The protagonist attempts to define her identity as a woman and mixed-blood while combating alcoholism. 3
- _____. Owl's Song. 1974. New York: Avon, 1976. Fiction. Hero is an adolescent Indian boy who must deal with reservation alcoholism and teenage suicide. One of the few books to deal with Indians on the reservation and in the city. 1
- Henry, Gordon (Ojibwe). The Light People. American Indian Literature and Critical Studies Series. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1994. Fiction. Set in the contemporary Minnesota village of Four Bears on the Fineday Reservation, the novel describes the attempts of young Oskinaway (Anishinabe or Ojibwe) to learn the whereabouts of his parents. His grandparents seek the assistance of a tribal elder, one of the light people. His assistant tells Oskinaway's family his stories and those of the people he encounters. Henry combines poetry, drama, legal testimony, and dreams with narrative. 3+
- Hogan, Linda (Chickasaw). Dwellings: A Spiritual History of the Living World. New York: Norton, 1995. Non-fiction. Spare and eloquent essays that focus on the idea and meaning of home. 2-3.
- _____. Mean Spirit. New York: Athenaeum, 1990. New York: Ivy, 1990. Fiction. Focuses on the historical events surrounding the murders of Native Americans, especially women, during the Oklahoma oil boom of the 1920s. 3
- _____. Solar Storms. New York: Norton, 1995. Fiction. In lyrical prose, Hogan tells the story of Angel Jensen, abandoned by her

mother and raised in a series of foster homes. Returning to the remote area where she was born, she reunites with her great and great-great grandmothers and the woman who adopted her mother and raised Angel as a young girl. The women journey to the far North, where a hydroelectric dam project is under way. Here she tries to resolve her turmoil over who she is. 3

Johnson, Emily Pauline (Mohawk). The Moccasin Maker. 1913. Ed. with intro. and notes by A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff. Tucson: U of Arizona P, 1987. Fiction and nonfiction. Mainly stories about Canadian Indian and non-Indian women. Includes a story about Johnson's parents. 1

Johnston, Basil H. (Ojibwe). Indian School Days. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1989. Moving and humorous account of Johnston's experiences during the 1940s in a Jesuit boarding school in northern Ontario. 1

_____. The Manitous: The Spiritual World of the Ojibway. New York: HarperCollins, 1995. Johnston's interpretations of Ojibwe oral literature. Includes a chapter of Naa'b'oozoo (Culture Hero/Trickster/Transformer) stories. 1

Kenny, Maurice (Mohawk). Rain and Other Fictions. Fredonia: White Pine, 1990. 2

_____. On Second Thought: A Compilation Foreword by Joseph Bruchac. American Indian Literature and Critical Studies Series 18. Autobiography, poetry, fiction. 3

King, Thomas (Cherokee). Green Grass, Running River. Boston: Houghton, 1993. Fiction. An hilarious mix of multicultural origin myths, intersecting stories of diverse characters, and satire of Indian-white relations. 3+. Probably too complex for high-school students but a delight for teachers.

_____. Medicine River. Toronto: Penguin, 1990. Fiction. Set in Canada. A mixed-blood hero returns to Medicine River, on the edge of a reserve. Good depiction of the Indian community, particularly of Harlen Big Bear, a kind of trickster character. 3

_____. One Good Story, That One: Stories. Toronto: HarperCollins, 1993. Short fiction. 2

LaFavor, Carole (Ojibwe). Along the Journey River. Ithaca: Firebrand, 1996. Fiction. Renee LaRoche tries to track down sacred ceremonial objects stolen from the Minnesota Red Earth Reservation's Ojibwe Tribe and solve the murder of the tribal chairman. Renee is torn between the ways of her people and sustaining her lesbian relationship with a white woman, who is a visiting college professor of women's studies. 3+

LaFlesche, Francis (Omaha). Ke-ma-ha: The Omaha Stories of Francis LaFlesche. Ed. and introd. by James W. Parins and Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1995.

Larson, Sidner (Gros Ventre). Catch Colt. American Indian Lives Series. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1995. Autobiography. 3+

Louis, Adrian C. (Paiute) Skins. New York: Crown, 1995. Fiction. Rudy Yellow Shirt, an Oglala Sioux, works in the Public Safety Department of the Pine Ridge Reservation. When Rudy falls and hits his head on a rick, the spirit of Iktomi (Lakota Trickster) changes his life. Taking on the alter ego of the Avenging Warrior, Rudy dispenses quick justice to criminals and firebombs a liquor store on the reservation border. 3

Mankiller, Wilma (Cherokee). Michael Wallis. Mankiller: A Chief and Her People. New York: St. Martin's, 1993, 1995 (paper). Autobiography.

Marshall, Joseph III (Lakota Sioux). Winter of the Holy Iron. Santa Fe: Red Crane, 1994. Fiction. An historical novel that chronicles Lakota's early contact with whites.

Mathews, John Joseph (Osage). Sundown. 1934. Introd. Virginia H. Mathews. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1988. Fiction. Depicts a mixed blood's search for identity as he rejects his Osage past but fails to find his place in the white-dominated present. Portrays the political and social issues faced by the Osage from allotment through the oil- boom of the 1920s. 3

_____. Wah-Kon-Tah: The Osage and the White Man's Road. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1932, 1968. Fiction. Describes the Osage's determination to retain their traditions in the face of pressure to acculturate. 3

McNickle, D'Arcy (Cree/Salish). The Hawk Is Hungry and Other Stories. Ed. Birgit Hans. Suntracks 22. Tucson: U of Arizona P, 1992.

_____. The Surrounded. 1936. Introd. by William Towner. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1978. Fiction. Chronicles a mixed-blood's search for his place and emphasizes the importance of tribalism. 3

Medicine Crow, Joseph (Crow). From the Heart of Crow Country: The Crow Indians' Own Stories. New York: Random, 1992. Mixed genre. 2

Momaday, N. Scott (Kiowa). The Names: A Memoir. 1976. Tucson: U of Arizona P, 1987. Autobiography. 2

_____. The Way to Rainy Mountain. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1969. Autobiography, myth, history. 2

*Mountain Wolf Woman (Winnebago). Nancy Oestreich Lurie. Mountain Wolf Woman, Sister of Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1961. Autobiography. One of the few autobiographies about midwestern Indians. 3

Mourning Dove [Cristal Quintasket] (Colville). Cogewea, the Half Blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range. With notes and biographical sketch by Lucullus Virgil McWhorter. 1927. Introd. by Dexter Fisher. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1981. Fiction. First novel by an Indian woman. Focuses on the identity problems of a mixed-blood heroine who initially rejects and then accepts her tribal heritage. It stresses the importance of oral tradition. 2

_____. Mourning Dove: A Salish Autobiography. Ed. Jay Miller. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1990. Contains much information on customs pertaining to women. 3

Owens, Louis (Cherokee/Choctaw). Bone Game. American Indian Literature and Critical Studies Series 10. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1994. A professor of Indian studies, Cole McCurtain is haunted by dreams of murder, a grizzly bear, and a painted Indian who offers bones in his extended hands. His daughter Abby and some Choctaw old-timers from Mississippi come to help him deal with his dreams and with the murders. 3

_____. The Sharpest Sight. American Indian Literature and Critical Studies Series 1. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1991. Fiction. The novel describes the search by a mixed-blood Choctaw to find his roots in Mississippi and the body of his brother murdered in California. His friend, Muncie Morales, is involved in a parallel quest to solve the murder and to find out about his own heritage. A powerful and mystical novel. 3+

_____. Wolfsong. Albuquerque: West End, 1991. Fiction. The Indian protagonist returns from college for his uncle's funeral, only to find him self caught up in the old man's fight to save the wilderness from destruction. 3

Penn, W.S. (Nez Perce). The Absence of Angels. American Indian Literature and Critical Studies Series 14. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1994; 1995 (paperback). Albert Hummingbird, a mixed-blood, urban college student, tries to reconcile his Nez Perce and white heritage. His grandfather's teachings, which come from the afterlife region known as the "absence of angels," connect Albert to his Indian heritage. Using magic realism or what Louis Owens calls mythic verism, Penn moves between the hero's childhood and young adulthood.

_____. All My Sins Are Relatives. American Indian Lives Series. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1995. Autobiography.

- Power, Susan (Sioux). The Grass Dancer. New York: Putnam, 1994. Fiction. Power interweaves Sioux folklore, history, and contemporary experience. Charlene Thunder loves Harley Wind Soldier, a traditional dancer. His lover, Pumpkin, dies, Charlene suspects her grandmother, Anna Thunder, a witch. Charlene and Harley strive to make peace with the ghosts of the old ways while they contend with the living. 3+
- Ridge, John Rollin (Cherokee). The Life and Adventures of Joaquín Murietta, the Celebrated California Bandit. 1854. Introd. Joseph Henry Jackson. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1977. First novel by an Indian author portrays the famous bandit who turns to crime after he is victimized by white miners. 1
- Sarris, Greg (Pomo/Coast Miwok). Grand Avenue: A Novel in Stories. New York: Hyperion, 1994. 1-2
- Sears, Vicki (Cherokee) Simple Songs. Ithaca: Firebrand, 1990. Short stories that "sing" about the ordinary lives of Native children, women, and elders. 1
- *Sekaquaptewa, Helen (Hopi). Louise Udall. Me and Mine: the Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa. Tucson: U of Arizona P, 1969. Autobiography. 1
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Studies of Native Women and the Development of the
Anthropology of Gender

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This year the Association of Feminist Anthropologists has chosen to mark the twentieth anniversary of the publication of two books Woman, Culture and Society, edited by Michelle Z. Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, and Toward an Anthropology of Women, edited by Rayna Rapp- with a special session at the American Anthropological Association annual meeting entitled "From an Anthropology of Women to the Gendering of Anthropology." In teaching an undergraduate course on gender, I too point to these books as an important starting place in my discipline's development of gender as a category of analysis. In this brief paper I will attempt to outline the history of the anthropology of gender, beginning with its roots in the anthropology of women, and paying particular attention to the role that studies of North American Indian societies have played in its development and growth. It is intended as a quick (and highly selective) tour of the study of gender in one particular discipline, that may prove useful in placing studies of Native women in the context of theoretical and political debates.

By and large, the feminist critique in the social sciences grew out of concern for the neglect of women by those disciplines. Anthropology's traditional interest in kinship and marriage in this sense made it an exception among the social sciences. But the issue, feminist anthropologists argued, was not of empirical study, but of

how women were represented in anthropological writing. The problem became defined as male bias. Thinking that men control the important information in their own society, both male and female anthropologists had assumed that the same was true in the societies in which they carried out their research. Believing that men are more involved in the crucial areas of culture, anthropologists had sought men out as informants and tended to ignore women as being theoretically less interesting. Similarly, Western anthropologists had tended to interpret the asymmetries within other societies as analogous those in their own. Now some women anthropologists were asking the question "what if we see that what women do does matter?"

The first step for a feminist anthropology was thus to correct male bias in reporting. This would be done in two ways, first with the collection of data on women, and secondly, with a revaluing of what had traditionally been considered "women's business." The anthropology of women thus became the precursor of feminist anthropology and of the "gendering" of the discipline.

In Woman, Culture and Society Rosaldo and Lamphere proposed that female subordination was not a biological given but was nevertheless a cultural universal. In her theoretical overview, Rosaldo argued that women's subordination was based on a universal distinction between the public (male) and domestic (female) domains of life. Other articles in the volume supported this argument, including Chodorow's psychoanalytic piece examining the reproduction of female personality through the near universal early socialization of young children by women, and Sherry Ortner's analysis of the cultural sources of the logic of female inferiority, "Is Female to Male as

Nature Is to Culture?" The latter article became particularly controversial. Immediately scholars began to counter the arguments for universal male dominance, and eventually Rosaldo herself came to see her earlier work as ethnocentric (Rosaldo 1980).

With the publication of this much cited volume, the major issue for the anthropology of women was framed in terms of women's status. Studies of Native American women were particularly brought into the discussion both because Indian societies are examples in which nature is not devalued (and thus in which to be associated with nature would not be detrimental to one's status as Ortner had argued) and because they provide examples of societies in which women's status is relatively high. The Iroquois are perhaps the best known such case, and have a long history of being referred to in arguments both supporting and refuting the prior existence of matriarchy, or rule by women. Albers points out that the apparent contradiction of the Iroquois being a source of data both for and against the idea of female power and autonomy can be traced both to changing conditions in the lives of American Indian women over time and place and to differing assumptions of the authors (Albers 1989: 133).

Some of the arguments over Iroquois women's status predate "the anthropology of women," and were used to document the process of cultural evolution itself by postulating an earlier phase of social life preceding contemporary patriarchy. The relatively high status of Iroquois women has variously been attributed by scholars to descent in the female line, matrilineal residence, and the division of labor. (see Carr 1884, Beauchamp 1900, Goldenweiser 1915, Hewitt 1933, Randle 1951, Richards 1957, and Brown 1970). Woman suffragists

in the United States also utilized the Iroquois as examples of the extent to which women can hold power in society (see Landsman 1992; Wagner 1980). Drawing from readings and from her own contact with the Iroquois in upstate New York, suffragist Matilda Joslyn Gage held up Iroquois womens' rights to property and children in the event of divorce as well as Iroquois women's political roles as evidence of "the Matriarchate" in recent history. But while some second-wave feminists encouraged a search for evidence of prior matriarchy, most academic feminist scholars dismissed the possibility, and some cautioned of the dangers of the strategy of using myths as data in the attempt to prove the existence of earlier matriarchies. Bamberger(1974) argued that such myths inevitably describe the loss of women's power and thus justify the status quo of patriarchy.

As set forth in Woman, Culture, and Society, the task was to determine the origins of and reasons for perpetuation of universal female subordination, in Rosaldo's words, for the "fact that male, as opposed to female, activities are always recognized as predominantly important, and cultural systems give authority and value to the roles and activities of men".(1974) Many scholars, however, argued against the existence of universal sexual asymmetry. Some proposed making a distinction between power and authority. While it may be the case that cultural assumptions of male superiority are universal, they claimed, these assumptions may be undercut in practice by forms of on-the-ground female power. Others argued that it is simply not the case that men have culturally defined greater prestige than women in all societies. Again, North American Indian societies provided data for the arguments. Peggy Reeves Sanday proposed that "scripts for

female power" are found in societies holding what she calls an "inner orientation," characterized by plant rather than animal-based economies, the presence of female deities, a positive perceptual link to the nonhuman environment, and where survival is not at risk. In such societies women hold real power (Sanday 1981). The Iroquois creation myth is used by Sanday as one such example of a "script for female power." The case of the Iroquois may also be used to challenge the tendency of American scholars to equate difference with inequality, by providing a case where men and women are both different and equal. Similarly, Marla Powers pointed to the way in which anthropologists have assumed that menstrual taboos are indicative of women's defilement; she countered with an interpretation of rituals related to puberty and menstruation among the Oglala which emphasizes the importance the Oglala attribute to the female reproductive role (1980: 54-55). Paula Gunn Allen chided feminists for not being "aware of the recent presence of gynarchical societies on this continent" (1986: 213) and cited the Iroquois in particular as a society in which women's decision-making and economic power were codified.

Eleanor Leacock and Karen Sacks also provided critiques of the concept of universal sexual asymmetry, but from a Marxist perspective. They utilized Engels' work linking women's status to the rise of the state. They argued that male domination is not universal but rather the outgrowth of specific historical events such as colonialism and the development and spread of private property. Leacock (1977) cited Iroquois women's power prior to the European

invasion of North America. Her study of the Montagnai-Naskapi similarly proposed that in societies possessing a communal economy with no corporate control of resources, dispersed decision making, and interdependence of individuals, women were autonomous; she demonstrated how the transition to a fur trade economy undermined that autonomy by leading to the development of privately held hunting territories and to inequalities both among men and between women and men. A contributing factor was the influence of Jesuit missionaries who sought to "civilize" the Indians in large part through "the introduction of a European family structure, with male authority, female fidelity, and the elimination of the right to divorce" (Leacock 1980: 28).

However as Rothenberg (1980) has demonstrated for the Iroquois, colonization has had the effect of both raising and lowering women's status. A rise in Iroquois women's status from the late 17th to mid-18th century accompanied the growing Iroquois involvement in the fur trade, as women's control over resources intensified while men increasingly participated in warfare and raiding for pelts. Later Quaker efforts to introduce the Seneca to the practice of male agriculture, nuclear family structure and private property, along with the prophet Handsome Lake's promotion of husband-wife relations at the expense of mother-daughter ties, resulted in a diminished status for Iroquois women. Many of the case studies in the Albers and Medicine (1983) volume on Plains Indian women similarly seek to empirically determine women's statuses in particular societies at particular times. Medicine, for example, points to the institutionalized role of the "warrior woman" on the Plains as an

example of female role variations in American Indian societies (1983: 267). By looking at specific histories, scholars such as Rothenberg, Leacock, Albers, Medicine and others reject the notion of a static and universal sexual asymmetry; they take the position that rather than being uniform, women's status is subject to changing historical circumstances and particular societies.

Whether defending or countering the concept of universal female subordination, the works discussed above have addressed the question of women's status; most focused on incorporating "the hidden half" (Albers and Medicine 1983) into the anthropological record. However, recognizing that women's status may vary through the lifecycle, that there are important differences among women in any society, and that status may vary according to social context, many anthropologists no longer accept "woman's status" as a unitary concept. Alice Schlegel's situational approach to Hopi gender meanings, for instance, points to situations in which the society's "general" and "specific" levels of gender meanings may be at odds with each other (1990). Similarly, scholars have not been content to simply "add women and stir." To do so, it is argued, not only segregates and marginalizes the subdiscipline of the anthropology of women, but segregates and reifies as well the analytical category of woman itself. As the anthropology of women shifted to an anthropology of gender and to a feminist anthropology, researchers have argued that the categories of "man" and "woman" in any particular context need to be investigated and not simply assumed.

Studies of gender transformation and variance in Native American gender identity have been used to address the feminist concern with reworking conceptual categories. Whitehead, for instance, proposed that for American Indian societies sexual object preference is not a marker of gender identity; the most salient feature rather is occupational activities, ie., the kind of work performed. Thus, Whitehead (1981) argued, it is erroneous and ethnocentric to assume that the category of homosexual and that of what has been termed "berdache" are one and the same. Williams argued for the acceptance of multiple gender identities in Native societies beyond simply the two of male and female recognized in American culture. Albers (1989) provides a useful curriculum module for teaching about female gender variance in American Indian societies so as to illustrate 1) the dangers of applying European-derived gender constructs to Indian societies, 2) the plasticity of American Indian gender roles, and 3) the lack of association of American Indian gender concepts with hierarchical distinctions (1989: 149).

Lomawaima's work on Indian girls in boarding schools addresses the interplay of gender and race that has characterized more recent feminist anthropology. Lomawaima documents Indian girls' creativity in locating spaces for resistance against the dominant society's attempt to construct an identity of the "ideal Indian woman" built around the Victorian cult of domesticity for women in general and training for subservience of non-white women in particular (see Lomawaima 1993).

In its critical approach to categories like status, man, and woman, feminist anthropologists have been part of the postmodern turn

in anthropology. Like the postmodernists, they have focused on the very criteria by which claims to knowledge are legitimized. They have argued that the claims put forth as universally applicable are actually valid only for men of a particular race, class, and culture, and that the ideals of objectivity have reflected the values of masculinity at a particular point in time. Indeed, they have argued that all knowledge is particularistic and situationally based, ie., it reflects the perspective, values, and experience of its creators. In this sense, feminist anthropologists and postmodernists have been allies (see Nicholson 1990). On the other hand, feminist anthropologists have questioned the political and ethical relativism to which this postmodern perspective can lead (see Mascia Lees, et.al 1989; also Strathern 1987), and they worry over the potential for it to result in an individualist politics and a focus on endless difference. "While many reject the modernist 'view from nowhere,' they question whether postmodernism would not lead us to the equally problematic 'view from everywhere'" (Nicholson 1990: 9).

These and many other issues that have arisen in gender studies became points of contention, discussion, or occasionally consensus among those of us at the Newberry Seminar last winter. Coming from vastly different communities, trained in different disciplines, and teaching in a wide range of institutions to quite different student bodies, we all grapple with how best to document women's lives and to teach for the empowerment of Native women. What theoretical approaches and styles of representation best serve our purposes? We are at a point of much experimentation, diversity, and opportunity. And beyond this question are yet other related ones: What

constitutes legitimate authority to teach about the lives, both past and present, of Native women? Are there topics that should be off limits for research and teaching? What are the political and ethical consequences of the research we carry out, and what are the moral obligations we incur? For this anthropologist, the Newberry seminar instilled these difficult questions with renewed relevance.

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Roles of Iroquois Women

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Introduction

The cultural roles of Iroquois women have long caused comment and controversy among the Europeans who came into contact with them. Some like Henry Lewis Morgan saw them as inhabiting inferior positions, even to those of European and colonial societies. For example, in League of the Iroquois, Morgan states, "The Indian regarded women as the inferior, the dependent, and the servant of man and from nurture and habit, she actually considered herself to be so" (Morgan 1962: 324). But other observers saw conditions for Iroquois women and their society to be very different. Joseph-Francois Lafitau (cited in Brown 1970: 153) states:

Nothing, however is more real than this superiority of the women. It is of them that the nation really consists and it is through them that nobility of the blood, the genealogical tree and the families are perpetuated. All real authority is vested in them. They are the souls of the Council, the arbiters of peace and are given the slaves. They arrange marriages. The children are their domain and it is through their blood that the order of succession is transmitted. The men, on the other hand, are entirely isolated.

Many colonialists referred to the Iroquois political structure as a "petticoat government" because of the influence and power women exercised. How do we reconcile these two views of Iroquois women? Or is it that neither of these opinions is entirely correct?

The roles of Iroquois women within their socio-cultural system has been used by various theorists to demonstrate particular views about the possible range of women's roles in society. But how did

the Iroquois, a Native American Confederacy composed of the Mohawk, Seneca, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Tuscarora nations, which occupied much of present-day New York State, view the role of women within their society? Whether inferior, superior, or equal to men, the roles of women in Iroquois society were not consistent with western concepts of women. Many of the responsibilities and powers attributed to some groups of Native American women such as the Iroquois were held by older women. Among the Iroquois these were the clan matrons or mothers. These women had proven themselves as responsible mothers, educators, food providers, traders and healers. Did these women view themselves as inferior to men, or as matriarchs; or did they see themselves as capable individuals who lived in a reciprocal relationship with the men of their families, as well as the rest of their community and the cosmos?

In making inferences about women's role within a culture, it is not enough to look only at the ethnographic record, which may reflect more of the opinions of the ethnographer than the people she is studying. In the case of the Iroquois, women have been seen as occupying submissive roles, as illustrated by the earlier quote from Morgan, while more recent feminist readings have used the Iroquois to illustrate a matriarchy. How did and how do the Iroquois feel about the role of women within their society? Can present day researchers get at the feelings of people long ago that have not been influenced by the social and religious opinions of European invaders?

There may be a way through combining the ethnographic record with folklore. While certainly influenced by Europeans, folklore tends to be a traditional and conservative transmission of the values

of a culture. Perhaps by examining both the ethnographic record and folklore of the Iroquois we can arrive at a clearer picture of women within that society.

The Ethnographic Record

Traditional Iroquois society was both matrilineal and matrilineal. Clan matrons were the matrilineal heads of families, and were responsible for giving clan names "not in use" (not held by a living person) to children and newly named adults. Some names were associated with particular roles which were concerned with trade, war, chieftainships and Faithkeepers. By assigning these names the women also assigned the obligations and responsibilities connected with them. When a chief died, his clan mother consulted with other clan mothers in the village to select the man from her lineage who would be most worthy to receive the name and role of this chieftainship (Tooker in Foster et.al. 1984: 153). The appointed chief could also be deposed by the clan mothers. A chief was generally given three warnings that he was not following the will of the people. Failure to respond to the people's will, as expressed by the clan mothers, would result in the chief being "dehorned," literally taking away his insignia of office.

Early records and documents show that clan matrons as well as chiefs signed treaties. Historically women did not speak in council, but did have specially designated speakers who would present their issues and concerns (Goldenweiser cited in Brown 1970: 153). Corn Planter, for example, was one such speaker. In this way Iroquois

women had an institutionally sanctioned method of influencing the political segment of their society.

Women could ask for a raid or war, particularly to gain captives for torture to appease the spirit of a killed clan member, or adoption to replace the clan member. Women took part in the torture of captives and often decided their fate (Beauchamp 1888: 154).

Ceremonies and rituals heavily depended on women. They often decided when a ceremony would take place and were responsible for the planning and organization of the festivals. They prepared all food for the ceremonies and saw to it that everything proceeded smoothly and according to traditions (Speck 1949: 41). Some ceremonies were especially concerned with women--the Ghost or Night Dance, and the Pygmy Dance--as were all rituals concerned with crops and the growth of crops, particularly corn (Speck 1949: 147). Women's roles in providing food and promoting fertility were respected and revered. Women played significant roles in the Iroquois yearly cycle of rituals. For example, it was the women who knew the secret of what trees contained maple syrup. Boys searching for the sap had to go to the grandmothers for this information, a ritual which made up a large part of the Thanks to the Maple ceremony.

Women, particularly those of the Bear Clan, could also be members of important medicine societies. Although they did not wear the masks or perform cures in the important False Face Society, a highly respected woman was always named Mistress of the Regalia. It was she who cared for the Faces, kept them oiled, and regularly "fed" them tobacco. Also, only the Mistress knew who the members of the False Face Society were, as membership was a secret, even to other

members. So it was the Mistress who communicated to members and was approached when someone requested a False Face Ceremony.

Related to these ceremonial roles, women were also largely responsible for transmitting the traditions of their culture to children. Iroquois society was both matrilineally and matrifocally based. Children belonged to the clan of their mother and upon marriage, husbands moved into the Long House of their wives. Households were extended, matrilineal natal families composed largely of women. The men were often away on long hunts, diplomatic or political missions, raids or wars. While women sometimes participated in all these activities, for the most part their homes and villages were their domain. As such, they had almost entire control over the rearing and education of children. In this role the women served as conservative and traditional transmitters of their culture. It was they who taught the history and religion of their culture, as well as the responsibilities to family and community. There is a story printed by Ben Franklin in 1784, which tells of a Swedish minister who told the story of Christ to a group of Iroquois men. After the minister had finished, one of the men responded,

We are much obliged by your kindness in coming so far to tell us those things which you have heard from your mothers. In return I will tell you some of those we have heard from ours (Masterson 1938: 58-59).

Clearly the Iroquois men expected that others had learned the tenets of their religion from their mothers as they had.

It was the economic roles of Iroquois women, however, which probably had the greatest importance on their status within their society. Beyond a doubt the women's economic contributions, through

agricultural production, were of vital importance to Iroquois society. Judith Brown, among others, credits the high status of Iroquois women to their economic contributions, and the control of the distribution of those resources within their society. Iroquois women provided a varied, nutritious and dependable diet through their farming. The clearest example of the importance of women to agriculture is their personification as corn, the most important staple crop to the Native peoples of eastern America. It is the responsibility of women to bring and care for corn on "this island on the turtle's back." A woman is credited with bringing corn to this world. In Iroquois myth it is Sky Woman, whose burden basket is full of seeds when she falls through a hole from the Sky World to this world. The three most important crops, corn, beans, and squash are called the Three Sisters, and to this day are portrayed in art as women.

Women were also responsible for the distribution and trading of agricultural and hunting resources. A woman's father, brother, husband or son may have done the hunting, but she prepared the hides and meat, and she set the price for trade. It may well be that women's status increased after the initial contact between the Iroquois and Europeans because the importance of hunting for the fur trade increased, along with it the role of women as the principle traders. It is ironic that European colonists often referred to the work Iroquois women did as proof of their inferior status in their society. Yet it was this work, and the control of the products of that work which served as the basis for the power women exercised in Iroquois society. European women did not work in the public sphere,

and had no control over the products of their household labor. As a result they had no economic power, and no power in any other sphere of their society.

The use of property, not actual ownership, was passed through the matrilineal line. This was not durable property. Farmland wore out, so fields had to be moved after several years. The simple farming tools and household materials wore out and had to be replaced. So these property items were of no great value, but the products of them, and their distribution was, and both were held by the women.

However, researchers such as Elizabeth Tooker have pointed out that men also contributed to agriculture, particularly in the clearing of fields. She believes the high status of women was based on the dependence on a reciprocal relationship between individual men and women, such as this farming relationship. These reciprocal relationships are replicated in many parts of Iroquois society, such as the political system in which women appoint chiefs and may recall them, and exercise influence on the Council. Peggy Sanday, in Male Dominance, Female Power, states it is the cooperation between the male and female spheres which leads to the power women may exercise in societies such as the Iroquois. In such systems there must be a balance between the male and female contributions to the economy and other aspects of the society. If the female sphere assumes too much responsibility, the male sphere will respond by undermining and demeaning the female contribution. This balance is found in the reciprocal farming and political relationships of the Iroquois.

The status of Iroquois women may have been partly dependent on the reciprocity and balance of female and male roles. However, I don't think the economic importance of Iroquois women should be underestimated. Indeed, the other status roles of Iroquois women may well hinge on their economic importance. It has been noted in many anthropological studies that the common factor of societies in which women have high status is their participation in the economy, particularly in the distribution of needed or valued resources.

Iroquois Women in Legend and Myth

The myths, folklore and rituals of the Iroquois demonstrate the reciprocal sharing of the female and male spheres which helped to validate the position of Iroquois women and helped to maintain their status despite the stress of European contact and conquest. In times of stress the strength of women's positions will greatly depend on the symbolic basis of those positions, on how well they are rooted in the ritual and tradition of the culture (Sanday 1981: 156).

Iroquois cosmology illustrates many of the roles of women. It is important to remember that there are several variants for any myth or folktale, so specific incidents in any version may vary, but the role of Sky Woman remains similar throughout. For one reason or another Sky Woman falls through a hole in the Sky World, magically pregnant and bearing corn and other seeds in her hands or burden basket. She falls through the air and is seen by the animals living in the water that comprises the world. Birds fly to Sky Woman, their wings close together to help break her fall. Beaver (sometimes Muskrat or Otter) dives underwater and brings up mud which he places

on the back of a turtle, which grows to form an island. It is here that Sky Woman lands and gives birth to a daughter. Each time they walk around the island it becomes bigger. Sky Woman's daughter, Zephyr, grows and magically becomes pregnant (in some stories by the West Wind, in others a water spirit). In time Zephyr gives birth to twin sons, Sapling and Flint. Flint kills his mother by attempting to take an easy route to birth through her arm pit. In many variants Grandmother Sky Woman refuses to have anything to do with the twin she thinks is responsible for her daughter's death, usually Sapling, the wrong twin. Grandmother Sky Woman takes her daughter's body and creates the sun from her head and moon from her body. She then proceeds to name the stars, mountains, rivers and other features found in the environment. Each time she or her grandsons walk around the island on the back of the turtle it becomes larger, forming the land mass the Iroquois knew.

In this story Sky Woman is not a creator in the sense she creates out of nothing. Although she, like her daughter, becomes magically pregnant, so she may have created her child out of nothing but natural elements, a theme which exists in several Native American creation stories. But Sky Woman is an active agent of creation. She increases the land and adds to it through the seeds she brought with her. She names things, establishes order, and teaches her grandsons the proper ways to live.

Her lessons to her grandsons and other stories of the Iroquois people are prescriptions for how people in their society should behave. Women both function actively in these stories, and as actors are role models for how women should behave. Women who go to live in

their husband's household rather than maintaining matrilocality may find they are living with cannibals or shapechangers (Curtin 1911: 204). Women who go with hunting parties have to be careful not to break taboos or their husbands may experience bad luck, injury or death. But to have good luck in hunting, a man should be married (Hewitt 1910: 453). Handsome, young people who haughtily refuse marriage may find themselves seduced by an evil shapechanger (Beauchamp 1888: 18). Men who do not provide for their families or are unfaithful often run into dangerous creatures in the forest (Beauchamp 1892: 220). A person who misuses the dream guessing ritual to achieve his own ends may find himself the meal of a cannibal (Hewitt 1910: 144-45). Men who attempt to take over the traditional roles of women, such as arranging marriages, find themselves making a mess of things (Beauchamp 1892: 115).

Iroquois folktales and mythology often start in an initial state in which something is incomplete in the household; often a grandmother with a grandson or granddaughter, or uncle with a nephew, rarely a father with his children. The story is often a series of events and obstacles to complete the household by finding lost uncles, parents and other clan members, or to get a spouse. In these cases the adult, single female is shown as being capable of running the household and obtaining food, chopping wood, etc. (Beauchamp 1888: 8-20). The women in these stories, while expressing an interest in completing the household, are not waiting to be rescued. The men, on the other hand, are anxious to get a woman to complete the household and take over the chores of food preparation. In one type of story the action is initiated to complete the household by

the seeking and obtaining of a husband or wife. In another type of story the adult is conservative and afraid to try and change conditions. They warn the younger characters not to travel in a certain direction, to go outside or to go in search of a lost clan member. By ignoring these warnings, the young characters (both male and female) start the action of the story, which leads to a more natural state at the end; clan members are returned, a woman comes to the household, or a husband is found for a daughter. The reciprocity of the household is re-established.

In these stories, the Long House and village are clearly the domain of women. Women are seldom portrayed outside of the village, while men always seem to be leaving the village and traveling. An important part of the women's role in the household is hospitality, a guest to a Long House could always expect to be fed by the women. A woman who did not offer food was considered greedy and was shamed, and usually punished in stories. I could find no instance of the passing on of property, or even the mention of property. The stories may indicate that Tooker is correct in that property had little value or effect on the status of Iroquois women.

As in the ethnographic record, the importance of women as the personification as corn, and the responsibility of women in bringing corn to this world and caring for it is clearly shown in folklore. Corn is usually personified as a beautiful young woman. In one of his visions, Handsome Lake was walking in a corn field and was embraced by a beautiful young woman who turned into a corn stalk (Beauchamp 1892: 228).

While Sky Woman is usually credited with bringing corn from the Sky World (Hewitt 1903: 7-8), there are other variants. After a flood caused a famine in a village, a young woman traveling from the south magically made corn appear during the night. She stays and marries a young man. After being mistreated by her brother-in-law, she leaves and the people again suffer from famine. Her husband searches for and eventually finds her. She refuses to return to the village, but gives him corn seeds and tells him how to grow and care for it. The young man is able to save his people, but because of the mistreatment of the woman, the villagers must work for their corn (Hewitt 1900: 642-643). This is an interesting story because it shows clear connections with the Corn Maiden stories of the southwest. In another story a woman rescues another woman from a river. In gratitude, the rescued woman teaches the women of the village the Corn Dance. When the dance is over, the rescued woman becomes a corn stalk (Hewitt 1900: 642-643).

There are also several variants of a story about warriors who see a young woman come down from the clouds and sit on a hillside. They bring her the tongue of a deer they just killed. To thank them she tells them to return to the spot in a number of months (nine, twelve, thirteen). When they return they find corn growing where her right hand touched; beans, squash or tomatoes where her left hand touched, and tobacco growing where she sat (Masterson 1938: 53-65). The importance and connection of women and corn is clearly shown in these stories.

Women play many ceremonial roles in folklore. Women are generally in charge of planning ceremonies, except when this role is

usurped for some reason. A young warrior takes over this role when he finds out his mother-in-law and her family are cannibals and are planning to kill him. He uses the reversal of roles to defeat them (Curtin 1922: 35-45). Mothers and grandmothers are often portrayed suggesting or arranging marriages for their daughters or granddaughters. I could find no instance of grandmothers consulting with the prospective groom's grandmother, as is indicated in the ethnographic accounts (Beauchamp 1892: 229). There are stories of male members of the family attempting to arrange marriages, but most often the young woman either refuses, or the marriage comes to some bad end, demonstrating what happens when the traditional role of women is usurped for no good reason.

In Iroquois stories Long House matrons are asked permission by the men to set out on hunts, and it was the matrons to whom news of a bad hunt, injury or death was brought, as was the news of injury or death in battle (Beauchamp 1892: 18). Women could also be of magical help to hunters, as in the Moose Woman or Ghost Wife stories. In these stories the hunter is successful only as long as he remains faithful to his supernatural wife (Curtin 1922: 204). Matrons were also sought for their advice. A Mohawk folktale says that people first lived underground and ate mice (another story with a southwest origin). A young man found a hole to the above world. He described this world to his mother who advised that the people go there to live. All do except for the ground hog (Beauchamp 1892: 220-221). In another story the Mohawks say they wandered around the earth for a long time (and they certainly did migrate) under the guidance of a woman (Lafitau in Beauchamp 1892: 167).

In a story about the origin of medicine, a sickly man sought a woman of the Bear Clan. He instructed her in how to care for him. He got better, but later came down with another illness. Again he told the woman how to care for him. This happened several times. Finally he told her that she had learned how to cure the illnesses of her people and that this would be the task of women of the Bear Clan. The man then turned into a bear and left (Beauchamp 1892: 212).

According to another story, the fate of the earth is in the hands of the woman in the moon and her dog. In this story the woman weaves during the night, but during the day the dog unravels what she has woven. If ever the woman finishes what she is weaving, the world will come to an end (Curtin 1922: 508).

One of the most unusual roles of women in Iroquois folklore is that of the Peace Maiden. I could find no ethnographic account of the Peace Maiden (except for Ely Parker's sister Caroline, as being the last Peace Maiden, but the accounts do not say how she got this position, or what her duties were), but she figures greatly in folklore. When ready to leave his friends and followers, Hiawatha, the disciple of Deganawidah (founder of the Iroquois Confederacy) told the people to choose a maiden gifted with wisdom to be Peace Maker. She would live in the forest with broad, clear paths leading to her house so that all could easily come to her. There were to be two doors into the house, so opposing parties could enter separately. The house was a place of sanctuary, where all people could rest, be fed and recover from injuries. After hearing both sides of a dispute, the Peace Maiden would settle it (Seneca, William Canfield cited in Beauchamp 1888: 137-39).

However, many stories about the Peace Maiden place her before the founding of the League of the Iroquois (different sources place the time from a generation before the coming of European settlers to three hundred and fifty years before Columbus. See Beauchamp 1888: 31-32). In these stories the Peace Maiden could order or stop raids and wars. In one story, the Canadaiyua and Messissayers had come to the Peace Maiden for arbitration. She ordered two Canadaiyua warriors killed when she found they had killed a Messissayer chief's son during the truce (Beauchamp 1888: 140-42).

According to a Seneca legend, an Onondaga and an Oneida came to Genetaska, the most famous of the Peace Maidens, to decide who had killed a buck which both of the men needed to feed his people. Genetaska fell in love with the Oneida and eventually left with him. Since that time the Kienuk (Peace House) has been empty.

This small sampling of Iroquois stories show the roles of women, which in many instances are also reflected in the ethnographic record. Women are portrayed as active agents. Iroquois women are not shown as needing or waiting for someone to initiate the action of a story. For example, in a story about two sisters captured by the Cherokees, the sisters initiate their own escape and return home following the instructions of a dream voice of the younger sister (Curtin 1922: 226-227). For the Iroquois, women are also being capable of spiritual insight.

Further, the stories also show a reciprocal relationship between women and men. The stories often have an initial state in which this reciprocal relationship does not exist; the household is incomplete by the absence of a husband or wife. Although it is the aim of many

stories to complete the household, both women and men are portrayed as being able to survive on their own, to be active participants in their cultures. Indeed, some variants of stories show men and women exchanging roles. For example, in one variant, it is a woman who helps the Thunderers kill a giant serpent (Curtin 1911: 18), while in another it is a man (Beauchamp 1892: 18). In another story type, a grandmother, uncle or brother has a pot which makes chestnut mush. In another it is Sky Woman who has the magic pot.

This body of folklore and myth helped in the socialization of the young. Boys and girls who grew up hearing these stories acquired very different expectations of women and their abilities than children who grew up hearing stories about princesses who sleep while waiting to be rescued. Bruno Bettelheim, (1975: 4) in the Uses of Enchantment, demonstrates the importance of fairy tales in the development of children.

Regarding this talk, nothing is more important than the impact of parents and others who take care of children; second in importance is our cultural heritage when transmitted to the child in the right manner. When children are young, it is literature that carries such information.

For Iroquois children, this literature was the folklore and mythology of their oral tradition. From this tradition children learned many of the customs, beliefs and ethics of their culture. They learned that society functions best when there is a reciprocal relationship between women and men. But they also learned that in some instances both women and men have to depend on themselves. Women and men are expected to be capable of effecting their own destinies and both women and men expect to be treated as capable, thinking and independent members of a community.

The roles of Iroquois women in folklore both reflect and affirm the roles they occupied in their society. People who grew up hearing these stories would not be surprised to see women as farmers, traders, diplomats, religious leaders, entrepreneurs, or any of the positions held by Iroquois women. While the economic roles of Iroquois women may have been the basis for their status and power within their society, the symbolic power manifested in stories reflects, affirms and helps maintain that power. When faced with the new opinions of the Swedish minister, the Iroquois man of Ben Franklin's story returns to what he learned from his mother through her rightful position in his society. In Male Dominance/Female Power, Peggy Sanday suggests it is the symbolic power which women in many Native American societies such as the Iroquois held that enabled them to maintain some status and power in the consequences of European contact and dominance. Today there is a resurgence of status among Iroquois women. Some women have even taken over traditional male roles such as singing and drumming, because they have the time or inclination to do so, and as the educators for and transmitters of their culture, it is their duty to make sure that nothing more of the culture is lost, and that it is taught to children.

The folktales and the ethnographic record paint a different picture of Iroquois women than the one presented by Morgan. But neither are they the matriarchs of some feminist readings. The Iroquois woman was independent, confident and active in the domain of her Long House, her fields, and all aspects of her community and nation. But even within her domain of the household, she accepted

the need of a reciprocal arrangement with men. Consciously or otherwise, Iroquois men also accepted this arrangement. They acknowledged their mothers as their educators and as the transmitters of their culture. They must have also acknowledged the important contributions women made to the daily subsistence of the village. Both the ethnographic record and the folktales and myths of the Iroquois indicate a striving for reciprocal balance between people whether they are male or female, young or old, or whatever might make people different. What is important is how all members of the community must work together for the well-being of the individual and the society.

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Missionary Influence on Gender Polarization:
The Evidence of Sermons

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Since Vine Deloria's pithy statement in 1969, "One of the major problems of the Indian people is the missionary" (101), Christian Indian missions have been criticized for many negative effects upon native people. One of the charges that has been leveled against missionaries is that their efforts brought about a regrettable change in gender relations among Indian people. According to some critics, the relationship between men and women before contact in at least certain tribes was one of complementarity and cooperation, and women had a considerable degree of power and authority. This positive relationship they argue was destroyed by colonization and the work of missionaries, who foisted upon Indians a patriarchal structure that denied power to women and relegated them to domestic drudgery. "In early Sioux households," according to Patricia Albers, "the ideal relationship between men and women was based on principles of complementarity...In their essential character, the moral precepts that governed relationships among Sioux kin were egalitarian and not compatible with European notions of dominance and subordination." Albers goes on to describe the more or less successful attempts of Sioux women to resist "the efforts of missionaries and government agents," which led to a situation that "gave them less opportunity to be autonomous and exercise influence than they had in the past" (189-190).

Mission schools are regarded as having been an especially effective agency for transforming gender roles among Indian people.

According to Suzanne Moranian:

The missionaries not only transmitted white knowledge, morality, and theology in the schoolhouse; they also imposed the traditional sex roles of nineteenth-century white society. In the instance of domestic instruction, the missionaries attempted to rearrange Indian sex roles and restructure Indian society (253).

Albers similarly describes the role of missionaries' wives and religious societies, such as the St. Mary's Society of the Catholic Church, in training adult Sioux women to become "efficient homemakers" (186-187).

Perhaps the most fully-developed critique of the negative impact of the missions upon the status of women in Indian society is Carol Devens's Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900, published in 1992. Devens argues that missionary activity, along with the fur trade, tended to erode the basic complementarity between men and women that characterized Indians of the Great Lakes region before contact, resulting in a loss of autonomy and authority for women. Devens characterizes the work of the seventeenth-century Jesuits in this way: "The system of balanced yet autonomous male and female roles baffled, even horrified, the priests. To cope, they automatically assigned each sex a place within the Western scheme of gender relations" (24). For the later centuries, Devens concentrates mostly upon Protestant missionaries, who "preached their combined gospel of assimilation and female domesticity" (4). Among the Protestants, Devens finds the Presbyterians especially reprehensible: "The Presbyterians saw the

obliteration of traditional culture not as a destructive process, but as a crucial step in creating Westernized individuals who conformed to the social expectations and gender roles of American culture" (109).

Devens's indictment of the missionary effort is based upon an impressive amount of research in largely unpublished primary-source material, especially archives of various missionary organizations, e.g., the Papers of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions; the Presbyterian Historical Society Collection of Missionaries' Letters; the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Archives, and diaries, journals, and letters of several individual missionaries. While documents of this sort are valuable sources, it is important to recognize that such writings were generally addressed to white readers who were far-removed from Indian country. Such sources may reveal a great deal about missionary attitudes toward various aspects of Indian culture, including gender relations, but they do not offer us a direct view of what the missionaries actually taught the Indians about such matters.

The purpose of this paper is neither to condemn nor defend the missionaries, but simply to suggest a research approach that makes use of a neglected body of information about the missionizing process. The suggested approach may yield important information about the effect of the missions upon gender relations, and it also could be fruitfully applied to many other issues concerning the effect of Christian missions upon various aspects of Indian culture. Both scholars critical of the missionary effort and those who write in defense or praise of the missionaries tend to rely upon missionary

writings that were directed to non-Indian readers--reports to supervisory and/or funding agencies in the East or in Europe, or missionaries' memoirs intended for Eastern readers and appealing to their Christian piety along with their interest in exotic Indians. Whatever their slant, scholars have tended to neglect material composed by missionaries for the Indian people themselves, despite the fact that a large body of such material exists, in both published form and in records of oral teaching. The neglect of this valuable material has much to do with the fact that it is difficult, partly because it tends to be written in native languages, and partly, to speak frankly, because few scholars have the patience to wade through huge masses of often tedious religious prose looking for relevant data. One purpose of this paper is to suggest some short-cuts which make research of this sort somewhat more endurable and efficient.

The focus of my research, like that of Carol Devens, is on missions in the Great Lakes area. My own background is Anishinabe and Catholic, and it has seemed appropriate to concentrate on what I have experienced. More specifically, I have concentrated on nineteenth and early twentieth-century Catholic missions to the Ojibwa and Ottawa of northern Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan. My work therefore complements that of Devens, since for the nineteenth century she dealt mainly with Protestant missions. In addition, it is my intention to examine not primarily the sort of archival sources she has used, i.e., mission society archives and missionary diaries and letters, but rather materials written for or spoken to Indian people.

The Ayer collection at the Newberry Library contains an unrivaled collection of printed materials produced by Frederic Baraga (1797-1868), a pioneer Catholic missionary to the Ottawa and Ojibwa. Baraga is well-known for his Ojibwa dictionary, which is still widely used for the study of the Ojibwa language. He also published an Ojibwa grammar and several works designed to teach Ojibwa and Ottawa people to read their own language. In addition, Baraga produced several published works of religious instruction and devotion intended for Indian readers. Baraga has been described (from a notably Eurocentric viewpoint) as the "creator of a religious language" for the Ojibwa and Ottawa people (Ceglar I, 13), but he certainly created a Christian religious literature for the same people which offers scholars today an unusual opportunity to see what early Indian converts were actually taught by missionaries. Unfortunately, except for his dictionary, Bishop Baraga's books are somewhat difficult to locate today, and some of them are extremely rare. However, the Ayer collection at the Newberry offers access to nearly all of them.¹ In the generation after Baraga, Catholic Anishinabe missions were mostly conducted by the Franciscans, who began this work in 1878, shortly after they arrived in this country as exiles from the persecution of Catholics in Germany at the time of the *Kulturkampf* (Habig, 497, 763). At a boarding school in Harbor Springs, Michigan, the Franciscans set up a press and bindery in order to teach Indian students the craft of printing, and a number of works of religious devotion and instruction were printed here. A monthly periodical for Ojibwa Catholic readers called *Anishinabe*

Enamiad was also published here from 1896 until 1912. The editor was Chrysostom Verwyst, a Franciscan who served the missions at Bad River, Red Cliff, Lac Courte Oreilles, and Lac du Flambeau. At the time it was the only Indian newspaper in the U.S., and though it was primarily devotional in content, it did include news on secular issues such as relations between Indians and the federal government (Miles 27). The Ayer collection has seven volumes of this publication.

It seems unlikely that a very large number of Indian people actually read much of the printed material missionaries wrote and published for them, except perhaps for Bibles and prayerbooks. A better source for direct evidence of what the missionaries taught the Indian people are records of sermons which missionaries preached to their Indian congregations. Various archives are rich in material of this sort, some of it in native languages, some of it in English or other European languages.

My interest in missionary sermons began a couple of years ago, while I was spending a month at the Newberry. Following a suggestion by Harvey Markowitz, I went to Milwaukee, where I consulted the archives of the Franciscans who conducted the Catholic Anishinabe missions in the upper Midwest, or rather the microfilm copy of that archive, kept at Marquette University in the Department of Special Collections. This Franciscan archival collection proved to be a rich source of sermon material, though in a rather chaotic state of organization. Sometimes there are merely sketchy sermon notes, but at other times there are complete sermons written out. Although the

material is organized under the name of specific missionaries, this classification often turned out to be erroneous. Also, many pages are out of order in the microfilm. I have only made a good start at working my way through the collection, cataloging sermons, identifying the individual preachers, and where possible dating and placing sermons. In the two months between the Gender Seminar at the Newberry and the due date for papers, I have not been able to conduct anything like a full-scale investigation of even this one body of missionary sermons with respect to issues of gender. I am able to offer here only a description of my research-in-progress, along with some suggested approaches that may be of use to other scholars pursuing similar inquiries.

I began with the material available in the archives under the name of a single Franciscan missionary, Father Oderic Derenthal, who spent about fifty years among the Wisconsin Chippewa and Menomini, from 1881 until his death at Bayfield in 1934. Under his name the Franciscan archives have nearly 400 items classified as sermons or sermon notes. However, about 25 of these items are not sermons but more or less secular addresses or simply misfiled documents. Of the remaining 350 or so sermons, about 205 are in English, 135 in Ojibwa, and 15 in German. All of these numbers are somewhat approximate, since there are several fragments which may be misplaced parts of other sermons in the collection. Nevertheless, there are in the Derenthal collection close to 350 sermons given in Anishinabe country between about 1880 and 1930. Many of the sermons provide some sort of evidence about their date, and often there is an indication of where they were given. Quite often the same sermon was used more

than once, given, for example, first at Odanah on the Bad River Reservation and then again later at Lac du Flambeau. There is at least one case of Ojibwa and English versions of the same sermon.

None of the sermons are signed. I began working under the assumption that all of the sermons in the archives under Oderic Derenthal's name were in fact by him, but I discovered that this is not the case. As I read through the microfilms I realized that there were changes in handwriting--even within sermons supposedly given about the same time. I verified Derenthal's handwriting from some non-sermon writing of his in the archives, particularly his diary, and it appeared that generally speaking all of the sermons from around the turn of the century on were in fact his, but the earlier sermons were partly Derenthal's and partly the work of more than one additional writer. As I looked more closely at the suspicious sermons, I discovered that the date and/or place references often did not correspond to information I had about Derenthal's career. For example, the earliest dated sermon in the collection is in Ojibwa, dated 1879, and labelled as having been given at Bayfield, Bad River, and certain other locations. The gospel text referred to in the sermon suggests that it was given on the Feast of the Assumption, i.e., August 15th, 1879. There is also another Ojibwa sermon given at Bayfield in 1879 and reused at La Pointe in 1882. It is quite impossible that these two sermons were the work of Oderic Derenthal, since he was not ordained to the priesthood until May of 1880, and he did not come to Indian country until August 4th, 1881, when he arrived at Bayfield knowing as yet little English and no Ojibwa (Franciscan Clerics 248). I have been able to identify many of the

early sermons--some are the work of Casimir Vogt, and some are by Chysostom Verwyst, who became an important authority on the Ojibwa language.²

I have begun to read through the microfilms containing the 350 or so Derenthal and pseudo-Derenthal sermons, looking for content that might reveal something about teachings bearing on gender issues. This is going to take some time. However, I have discovered some shortcuts that may be of use to other scholars who might undertake similar projects.

An advantage of Catholic sermons is the fact that if they carry some indication of date within the course of the year, as most of the Derenthal sermons do, it is possible to find rather quickly those which are most likely to concern marriage and thus gender issues within marriage. Until the Second Vatican Council (1963-1965), the Catholic Church used a one-year cycle of biblical readings, one reading from the gospels and the other generally from the epistles. Sermons very often used these readings, especially the gospel reading, as a springboard for doctrinal or moral instruction. There were two Sundays in the year which had gospel readings about marriage: The Second Sunday after Epiphany (in January) had the story of the wedding feast at Cana (John 2: 1-11), while the Nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost (in early Fall) had the parable of the wedding feast (Matthew 22: 1-14). Although marriage or gender issues are not in any sense a major focus of either of these readings, it appears that there was a tendency to use these readings as a springboard for teachings about the nature of Christian marriage. In fact, there is a widely-used manual for Catholic preachers dating from late in

Derenthal's career which lays out the major teachings of Catholicism in a two-year cycle, presenting extracts from the *Catechism of the Council of Trent* paired with the thematically appropriate biblical readings. For the two Sundays in question, the "Dogmatic Series" of the first year presents teachings about the nature and purpose of marriage, the evil of divorce, etc., and the "Moral Series" of the second year deals with topics like the duties of husbands and wives. For example, "The husband must provide for the decent support and protection of his wife and family... By her prudent and economical management the wife should endeavor to make the best use of her husband's earnings" (Callan and McHugh III, 183). There is no reason to think that Derenthal or his Franciscan colleagues made use of this particular preacher's manual, but it does provide evidence that teachings about marriage and gender roles would have been likely to occur in sermons from the Second Sunday after Epiphany or the Nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost. In the Derenthal sermon corpus there are at least seven sermons designated for these two Sundays, all but one of these in Ojibwa.

Another fairly promising source for material on gender issues is the First Sunday after Epiphany, which was also the Feast of the Holy Family, upon which occasion Jesus, Mary, and Joseph were presented as a model family. The biblical readings for this Sunday did not concern gender relations, but the epistle (Colossians 3: 12-17) dealt with virtues like "kindness, humility, meekness, patience" as necessary qualities for family relationships. The reading does not enjoin these virtues particularly upon women, but some preachers were

probably influenced by the fact that the immediately following passage in Colossians (3: 18-21) was one of those "Wives, be subject to your husbands" passages that have become more than a little problematic today.

In addition to sermons keyed to the biblical reading of the day, many of Derenthal's sermons were thematic, often grouped in a series of sermons about some doctrinal topic. For example, there are a series on the attributes of God, two series on the nature and attributes of the Church, another on the sacraments, and a separate series on Baptism. There is a series on grace, one on the qualities of faith, and another on dangers to faith. The most promising source here would, of course, be a sermon on the sacrament of matrimony in the series on the seven sacraments.

Finally, one might look for sermons from a nuptial or wedding mass, for which the first reading was Ephesians 5: 22-33 (another "wives be subject to your husbands" text), and the second reading was Matthew 19: 3-6, which was regarded as the main scriptural basis for the prohibition of divorce.

As an example of a sermon which offered significant teachings that bear on gender issues, we may consider one of the English sermons by Oderic Derenthal, for the Feast of the Holy Family (the First Sunday after Epiphany), delivered at Bayfield, Wisconsin. The sermon is undated, but internal references indicate that it was given late in Derenthal's career, probably around 1926. At Bayfield the congregation was mixed, made up of people from the Red Cliff reservation as well as whites and mixed-bloods. The sermon begins: "On this day, our holy Church leads us to the cottage of Nazareth and

presents to us the three holiest persons--Jesus, Mary, and Joseph--and says to us, 'People of Bayfield, model your homes after the holy home of Nazareth.'" The body of the sermon is divided into two parts. The first presents Joseph as a model for married men, and the second is developed around Mary as an ideal wife and mother. In the process, Derenthal makes some striking observations about gender roles:³

"Fathers! See there your model. You like St. Joseph are the ruler, guard, the bread winner of the home. Oh provide for them in the best way possible... A noble father is like a glorious king in his home. Wife and children look up to him with confidence and respect... Hard is often the life of a husband. He has to fight the battles of life providing for all the needs of the household."

Later the preacher turns to the women:

"You are, you should be, the consolation, the support, the balm for your husband's difficult task. You [are] the heart of the family. The duty of a wife and mother is to make the home comfortable, pleasant. . . . Many a man is driven to the public house by the sight of a miserable home that awaits him. It costs but a little extra labor for a woman to keep her house clean and comfortable and tidy, and but few realize how essential this is to happiness. The woman whose house, though poor perhaps, is spotless and orderly, who has a well-cooked meal waiting for her husband at the end of his day's work, and who greets him with a smiling, cheerful face when he returns home tired, mayhap, and worn out after the day's labor--such a woman is not likely to lose her husband's love. But the woman who is dirty and untidy, and whose children and home bear the mark of her carelessness, whose only reception for her husband is an unappetizing meal and a grumbling and scolding tongue, must not be surprised if her husband spends as little time as possible under his own roof."

The conclusion of the sermon urges husbands and wives to share one another's burdens and love one another, and Derenthal concludes:

"May the spirit of the home at Nazareth be the spirit of the homes at Bayfield."

On the one hand, this sermon suggests that Derenthal took his Indian and mixed-blood listeners seriously, and that he apparently made considerable effort to produce for them quite a good piece of oral literature. On the other hand, it is clear that despite nearly fifty years spent among the Anishinabe, Derenthal had retained the European presuppositions about gender roles that he brought with him when he came to this country from Germany. The content of this sermon clearly supports the statements about the effect of the missions on gender roles that were cited at the beginning of this paper. However, I am not yet able to say whether this sermon is typical of the Catholic missions to the Anishinabeg.

I hope that this paper may encourage scholars to undertake research on Christian Indian missions that makes use of the large amount of material, both printed and in archives, that offers direct evidence of what missionaries actually taught Indian people, especially concerning specific issues which had an important impact upon Indian culture. Material of this sort has been generally neglected. Although some attention has been paid by linguists to native-language material produced by missionaries, historians have shown little interest in the content of such writings. One exception that might be mentioned is Ross Enochs's just-published history of the Jesuit mission to the Lakota. Enochs makes use of a large body of mission records, including sermons, and he offers, for example, an interesting analysis of the sermons of the Jesuit missionary-linguist Eugene Buechel's 300 surviving sermons, with respect to Buechel's major theme of the religious value of hard work (36-38). Despite its many virtues, however, Enochs's study is somewhat lacking in

objectivity. His introduction suggests that his book is in a sense a defense of the Jesuit Lakota mission against critics like Vine Deloria and Harvey Markowitz (Enochs viii-x), and the book as a whole sings the praises of the missionaries and seldom criticizes them at all. What is needed is a balanced, objective view of the missionary enterprise--one that recognizes both the good and the bad that it brought to Indian people--and for this there has to be research that is solidly based upon records of what the missionaries actually said to the Indians. The Newberry Library is an ideal location for such research, because of its unrivaled collection of rare published books of devotion and religious instruction written for Indians in their own languages. In addition, scholars who are working on Catholic Indian missions may, as I did, find it profitable while spending time at the Newberry, to pay a visit to the Department of Special Collections and University Archives at Marquette University in Milwaukee, which has a particularly large collection of material on Catholic Indian missions, including sermon material.⁴

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Ross and Haines, 1971.

Endnotes

- 1 Especially valuable for the sort of research proposed in this paper are the following books, all in the Ayer collection:
 - 1 Jesus od Ijitiwawin, Katechism (Detroit, 1846).
 - 2 Jesus Obimadisiwin (Paris, 1837). There were both Ojibwa and Ottawa versions of this life of Christ, and the Ayer collection has both.
 - 3 Gete Dibadjiwowin (Laibach, Austria, 1843)--a Bible history.
 - 4 Katokic Gagikwe-Masinaigan (Detroit, 1846)--a sort of sermon book. The Ayer collection also has the 1858 second edition.
 - 5 Katolic Enamiad o Nanagatawendamowinan (Detroit, 1850)--this book of doctrinal instruction was widely used among Algonquian-speaking people in the U.S. and Canada. It includes instruction on the Sacraments, and the section on the Sacrament of Matrimony could be especially enlightening regarding gender issues.
 - 6 Kagige Debwewinan (Cincinnati, 1855)--a book of religious instruction.
- 2 Verwyst's Grammar of the Ojibwa Language, Chippewa Exercises, originally published at the Harbor Springs boarding school in 1901, was reprinted in 1971 with a new introduction by John Nichols.
- 3 I have edited Derenthal's punctuation. Words that are unclear on the microfilm are italicized. Editorial additions are in square brackets.
- 4 A useful resource for finding other material is the Guide to Catholic Indian Mission and School Records in Midwest Repositories by Philip Bantin and Mark Thiel. This guide, published in 1984, is available from the Marquette University Libraries Department of Special Collections and University Archives.

Gender Equality and Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez

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Ever since it was first issued by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1978, the case of Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez (46 U.S. 49, 98 S.Ct. 1670, 56 L.Ed.2d 106) has been one of the most controversial cases students of Indian law have to examine. In the several times I have discussed the case in Federal Indian Policy or Contemporary Indian History courses, the reaction of some members of the class has ranged from anger to outrage. Although consternation with the case is most often expressed by female students, males also are frequently dismayed by the decision. Furthermore, negative reactions to the case cut across racial and ethnic boundaries. Indian and non-Indian students alike seem inclined to reject the holding of the case.

The reaction of a quiet African-American girl in one of my classes seems to summarize the negative feeling about the case: "How could Thurgood Marshall of all people write a decision that sets Indian women back a hundred years!" The answer to that question is what makes the Martinez case so challenging to discuss and such an interesting touchstone for a consideration of conflicting values, in this case the values of tribal sovereignty and tribal self-determination versus those of gender equality and Indian civil rights. To appreciate the importance of the issue posed by this case, we must look at it in the context of the era following the passage of the Indian Civil Rights Act (ICRA) of 1968. As a current Indian law text summarizes the matter, "The Indian Civil Rights

Act...has proved to be one of the most controversial of all Indian statutes" (Getches and Wilkinson 1986: 367). And the Martinez case has added one of the most controversial elements to the Supreme Court's interpretation of that Statute.

The ICRA was the first major Federal legislation tampering with the operation of tribal governments since the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (also called the Wheeler-Howard Act). Concerned with perceived abuses of the civil rights of Indians and non-Indians alike by tribal governments, Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina, chair of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, held seven years of hearings on what was called the Talton v. Mayes, 419 U.S. 544 (1896) problem. In that early case, Talton, a member of the Cherokee Tribe, was convicted of murdering another Cherokee by the tribal courts of Cherokee Nation. Based on the fact that he had been indicted by a grand jury consisting of only five people, Talton sought a writ of habeas corpus to have his conviction overturned by the federal courts. Arguing that an indictment by a grand jury of less than thirteen members violated his Constitutional rights to due process of law under the Fifth Amendment, Talton was unsuccessful in his appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. In a forceful statement limiting the power of federal courts to intervene in tribal court decisions, the Supreme Court noted that the powers of tribal governments do not arise from nor are they created by the U.S. Constitution. The powers of local self government exercised by the Cherokee, noted the Court, existed prior to the U.S. Constitution and could be limited only by specific act of Congress through its powers created by the Commerce Clause.

As recently as 1975, the independent powers of tribal courts and tribal governments were recognized by Justice William Rehnquist (now the Chief Justice) to apply even to the conviction of non-Indian defendants for violations of tribal liquor licensing provisions on the Wind River Reservation of Wyoming. Writing the decision for the Court in United States v. Mazurie, 419 U.S. 544 (1975), Justice Rehnquist quoted the now famous guarantee that the Supreme Court will not enter into issues of tribal sovereignty without the explicit authorization of Congress:

It is immaterial that respondent [Mazurie] is not an Indian. He was on the Reservation and the transaction with an Indian took place there. The cases in this Court have consistently guarded the authority of Indian governments over their reservations. Congress recognized this authority in the Navajos in the Treaty of 1868, and has done so ever since. If this power is to be taken away from them, it is for Congress to do it.

Ironically, Justice Rehnquist, widely acknowledged to be one of the most conservative members of the Court, is here quoting from Williams v. Lee, 358 U.S. 217 (1959), a decision written by Justice Hugo Black, one of most widely acknowledged defenders of liberal principles on the Court in the latter half of the Twentieth Century. Significantly, even though the Mazurie case was written seven years after passage of the ICRA, Justice Rehnquist specifically rejected Mazurie's claim that he was not subject to the authority of tribal courts because as a non-Indian he had no right to participate in the decisions of such governments.

Modeled after the first ten amendments of the U.S. Constitution, the ICRA was intended to guarantee parties in tribal courts the most essential civil rights guarantees of the Bill of Rights. Since

tribal courts had been held not to be subject to the Bill of Rights and other constitutional guarantees, Senator Ervin "believed that Indians and non-Indians should be protected from potential abuses by tribal governments" (Getches and Wilkinson 1986: 368). Although the traditional Pueblo tribes of the Southwest testified against the bill, many tribes found no objection to the legislation although many deemed it an unnecessary guarantee. Notably sensitive to Indian objections, the ICRA specifically did not refer to Bill of Rights's provisions relating to the establishment of religion, the right to a jury trial in civil cases, the requirement of free counsel for indigent defendants, and other provisions that were thought to be unnecessarily inconvenient for tribal courts.

An unfortunate and perhaps unforeseen outcome of the passage of the ICRA developed almost immediately in the federal courts. Although the Act itself authorizes the federal courts to intervene in tribal court decisions only by writ of habeas corpus, the federal courts themselves found jurisdiction for such interventions from a variety of other sources (Clinton 1991: 386). Suddenly, there was a rash of federal court appeals and interventions in tribal court decisions, ranging from interferences with tribal elections, tribal apportionment, land assignments by tribes, tribal due process, and even tribal membership. "In all of these cases," notes Clinton (1991: 386), "courts assumed both that the ICRA created a claim to sue a tribe that violated any of its provisions and that the ICRA waived tribal sovereign immunity from suit." Fortunately for the future of tribal sovereignty, the Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez case

ended both of these assumptions and brought an end to the wholesale review of tribal court cases by federal courts.

The issue involved in the Martinez case concerned conflict between an ordinance of the Santa Clara Pueblo Council and paragraph 8 of Title I of the ICRA (25 U.S.C. section 1302). Passed under the authority of the Constitution of the Pueblo, the second two provisions of the tribal ordinance in question establish the following membership rules which were challenged by the Martinez suit:

2. That children born of marriages between male members of the Santa Clara Pueblo and non-members shall be members of Santa Clara Pueblo.
3. Children born of marriages between female members of the Santa Clara Pueblo and non-members shall not be members of the Santa Clara Pueblo.
(Emphases mine.)

This tribal ordinance was asserted to be in conflict with the provision of the ICRA noted above, which states: "No Indian tribe in exercising powers of self-government shall...deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws."

Julia Martinez, one of the plaintiffs in the suit against the pueblo, had married Miles Martinez, who was full-blooded Navajo. Although he was prevented by tribal ordinance from becoming a naturalized member of the pueblo, Miles lived on the pueblo with his family. The Martinez children were raised in the culture of Santa Clara Pueblo and learned the Tewa language of the Pueblo. Because of the tribal ordinances designed to maintain a strictly patrilineal society, however, Audrey Martinez, Miles' and Julia's daughter and the second plaintiff in the suit, was denied enrollment as a member

of Santa Clara Pueblo. Along with her mother, she filed suit in federal district court against both the Pueblo and its governor, Lucario Padilla, to remedy this inequity, citing the provision of ICRA quoted above. A clearer instance of a violation of the ICRA could hardly be found.

Nevertheless, the suit by the Martinez family ran into immediate difficulty in federal district court. Although the district court judge ruled that he had jurisdiction because the ICRA waived all right of sovereign immunity and because infringements of the ICRA were subject to review by federal courts, he held that the ordinance in question reflected a long-standing cultural tradition of patrilineality, which should not be altered by the federal statute.

Not surprisingly, the Martinez family appealed their case to the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals. The Circuit Court agreed that there was federal jurisdiction, but it disagreed with the conclusions of the trial court on the case's merits. Interestingly, in a conclusion that would have been particularly harmful to the sovereignty of tribal governments, the Circuit Court concluded that the same standard of equality should be applied to tribal courts as was applied to state and federal courts. The Court of Appeals reasoned that the ICRA should be applied to tribal governments in the same manner as the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution was applied to other courts. They ruled that there was no compelling interest of the tribe to allow such "presumptively invidious" discrimination as was present in this case (Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez, 436 U.S. 49 at 53-54).

Flying in the face of over a century of legal tradition that had held Indian law to be separate and distinct from the rest of U.S. American law, this finding of the Court of Appeals could have ultimately had a most devastating effect on the independence of tribal governments and tribal courts. As John R. Wunder notes in his admirable analysis of the case, "In essence, the appellate court applied federal equal protection standards to the Indian Bill of Rights" (Wunder 1994: 154). The Court could clearly have reached its same result without this obnoxious dictum. Proceeding in that alternate fashion would, at least, have acknowledged the separate development of Indian law and its obligation to consider cultural tradition as a measure of its application.

Santa Clara Pueblo had no clear recourse but to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. Coming before the Court in the fall term of 1977, the decision of the Court with Justice Thurgood Marshall writing for the majority was issued in March 1978. Only Justice Byron R. White dissented from the 7 to 1 decision, arguing that Congressional intent was frustrated if federal courts did not intervene to assure the goal of protecting Indians from the arbitrary actions of their governments. In a preview of the direction such cases might go in the future, Justice White stated that "persons aggrieved by tribal laws may, in addition to pursuing tribal remedies, be able to seek relief from the Department of Interior" by requesting the Bureau of Indian Affairs to intervene or refuse to approve such tribal ordinances.

Marshall's decision, on the other hand, agreed step-by-step with the contentions of Santa Clara Pueblo. First, with respect to the

issue of jurisdiction, Marshall noted that, "Indian tribes have long been recognized as possessing the common-law immunity from suit traditionally enjoyed by sovereign powers." Not only has this right of sovereign immunity been generally acknowledged to apply to tribal governments but also we can see the devastating effect that the absence of such a right would have on tribal government action. Just a consideration of the suits that arose against tribes immediately following passage of the ICRA illustrates the chilling effect of such constant Federal review of tribal governmental actions--to say nothing of the legal expenses that few tribes could bear. Noting that the act explicitly allows for habeas corpus relief, Marshall states that Congress has made "available to any person, in a court of the United States" the ability "to test the legality of his detention by order of an Indian tribe." If Congress wished to allow for other Federal court intervention in tribal governmental decisions, it would have to do so with an "unequivocal expression" of Congressional intent (55-58), which was lacking in the wording of the ICRA. Constant review of tribal decisions by federal courts has too devastating an effect on tribal sovereignty to be presumed in the absence of explicit Congressional action.

This provision of the Martinez case has been significantly influential. Only a few tentative interferences with the decisions of tribal governments have been entertained in federal courts or other tribunals since the decision was rendered (see Ziontz, "After Martinez: Civil Rights under Tribal Government, 12 U.C. Davis Law Review 1979: 10-33. Reprinted Clinton et al. 1991: 397-402). Federal courts have considered reviews of tribal decisions when

non-Indians are involved, as in cases involving tribal licensing requirements. (see Dry Creek Lodge, Inc. v. Arapaho and Shoshone Tribes, 623 F.2d 682 (10th Circuit), certiorari denied, 449 U.S. 1118 (1981)) An important case involving an Indian student injured by a motorcycle in the parking lot of a State of Montana school on the Crow Reservation was reviewed by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, who said there was no ground for the federal district court to exercise jurisdiction over the matter. After granting certiorari, the U.S. Supreme Court remanded the case until "petitioners have exhausted the remedies available to them in the Tribal Court system" (National Farmers Union Insurance Cos. v. Crow Tribe, 471 U.S. 845 (1985)). This reluctance to have federal courts intervene in the tribal legal process is characteristic of the post-Martinez treatment of cases.

An ominous trend that appears to be growing following the Martinez case, however, is to subject tribal courts to ever closer scrutiny by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1978, the Fort Belknap Community Court invalidated the results of a tribal election because one candidate was not qualified in accordance with the tribal constitution (see Clinton, et al. 401; also Plumage v. Fort Belknap Election Board, 5 Indian Law Rep., section L: 7 (1978); also Lopach, et al. 1990: 124-132 for interviews with the principals involved in this case). This tribal court decision was appealed to the Billings Area Office, where the Billings Area Director "recognized the tribal court's ruling as valid and binding" (Clinton et al. 1991: 401). Subsequently, the case was appealed again to the Department of the Interior, where a decision was rendered by the Assistant Secretary.

Emphasizing that the Interior Department's review was not a judicial process, the Assistant Secretary noted that tribal constitutions must be viewed as contracts with the Department and stated, "We cannot be bound or compelled to recognize any tribal action which may be in violation of those agreements." Citing particularly due process and equal rights requirements as grounds for Interior Department review, the Assistant Secretary seems to have created an administrative review process upholding the ICRA that is akin to what the federal courts were doing prior to the Martinez case. As Clinton warns (1991: 402), "The Secretary must bear in mind that Martinez was a mandate for tribal self government, not for the substitution of administrative review for judicial review."

Had the Martinez case been decided purely on jurisdictional grounds, an important aspect of its significance would have been lost. However, the Martinez family had also filed suit against Lucario Padillo, the governor of the Pueblo, who could not be protected by the doctrine of sovereign immunity. He and other agents or officers of the Pueblo who had participated in the denial of rights of the Martinez family were not immune from suit. As a result, Marshall had to consider the merits of the action itself. But once again he decided firmly against the position of the Martinez family. Injunctive relief and all other remedies were unavailable because the ICRA barred any cause of action in federal courts other than those to consider writs of habeas corpus. Since such an action clearly would not apply, the suit against tribal officers was also foreclosed.

In arriving at his decision, Marshall reviewed the Congressional intent underlying passage of the ICRA. He noted that Congress in passing the act appeared to subscribe to two sometimes competing goals. First, Congress clearly wanted to prevent "injustices perpetuated by tribal governments," noted Marshall, quoting from the Summary Report of hearings on the legislation. However, he concluded, Congress also intended to strengthen tribal governments by avoiding "undue or precipitous interference in the affairs of Indian people." What are we to do when these goals conflict with each other? To answer this question, Marshall noted that Congress did not incorporate all provisions of the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution into the ICRA. As a result, he concluded, when there is a conflict between the tribal governments' rights of self-determination and the civil rights of the individual as described in the act, the Congressional intent must have been to decide such issues in favor of the tribal governments. Wunder particularly has been very critical of this aspect of Marshall's reasoning, stating "This is a most bizarre form of reasoning that defies rational explanation" (1994: 156).

Quite the contrary of Wunder's view, I would contend that Marshall's subtle observation is absolutely correct. The evidence in Marshall's favor is suggested by Getches and Wilkinson in their observation: "There has been no groundswell of sentiment to amend the ICRA to allow for the civil remedies denied in Santa Clara" (1986: 377). While we might agree that Congress is frequently ponderously slow in its actions, in this case the nearly twenty years since the Martinez case was decided has allowed plenty of time for Congress to

act, had their intentions been significantly contrary to the outcome of that case.

In any case, whether his reasoning is correct or not with respect to Congress' intent, Marshall's decision remains the landmark interpretation of the ICRA. His forceful warning to lower courts of appeal in the federal system to observe judicial restraint in such actions is also a very significant facet of his decision. He warns that when Congress is seeking two goals which may sometimes be in conflict, as in this case, "courts must be more than usually hesitant to infer from its [Congress'] silence a cause of action that, while serving one legislative purpose, will disservice the other" (64).

The fact remains, however, that the decision does do a disservice to the cause of equal rights for tribal women. Should there have been a greater interest by the court or should there be a greater interest in Congress to condemn economic discrimination against women? The Martinez appeal to the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals, 540 F.2d 1039 (10th Circuit 1976), noted that the Plaintiff at trial disputed that the enrollment ordinances passed by the Santa Clara Pueblo Council correctly reflected the patriarchal tradition of the Pueblo. If that is so, a clear remedy for the Martinez family would be to work within the Pueblo political structure to repeal the ordinances. What the federal government has taken away in terms of the rights and powers and sovereignty of tribal governments has rarely or never been restored. But in an era which has seen the successful collaboration of minority women world-wide in the U.N. Women's Conference under the theme of "women's rights are human rights," perhaps women do not need the help of the "nine old men" of

the Supreme Court, as much as tribal self-determination needs the nurturing and independence that would save it from the forces that would happily contrive its complete destruction.

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Incorporating New Archaeological Research on Gender
into the Teaching of Native American History

by
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In the field of Anthropology, as practiced in the United States and Canada, there has been an unfortunate separation between the study of prehistory and history. Somewhat stereotypically, history has been the province of historians and ethnohistorians who painstakingly mine written records, while prehistory is the sphere of archaeologists who dig in the ground. I contend that archaeology is simply another way to understand Indian history, whether it be ancient Indian history stretching back 12,000 years, or more recent contact and colonial history. Native Americans have passed down knowledge of their own history in a variety of forms, through oral traditions, oral literature, performance arts, oral history, place names, and the material record. Archaeology is the discipline that specifically focuses on this material record, the remains of sites above or below the surface of North American landscapes. While many archaeologists studying North American prehistory consider themselves "prehistorians," perhaps the majority rely heavily on ethnographic and historical information for analogs to help interpret "prehistory." For this reason, I believe there should be no epistemological break between prehistory and history.

While feminism has influenced sociocultural anthropology for over 20 years, the field of archaeology is finally turning to issues of gender, ethnicity, and class as important principles structuring

our knowledge of the past. Over the past five years, there has been an explosion of archaeological attention to the study of gender. Some of this current research addresses Native American groups, from the Arctic to the Gulf of Mexico, from 12,000 years ago to the late nineteenth century. Some of the new research should allow us to "engender" that period of time prior to European contact, the period sometimes referred to in Indian country as "time immemorial." Current research on post-contact periods can bring new dimensions to studies of colonization. The rest of this paper is comprised of a bibliography of archaeological source materials that can be incorporated into a variety of Native American studies, anthropology, and history courses. The references are organized alphabetically within culture area designations after one general category. The culture areas are: the Far North, Northwest Coast, California, Southwest, Plains, Southeast, and Northeast.

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Gender Issues In Navajo Boarding School Experiences

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My decision to examine potential gender differences in Navajo boarding school experiences was inspired by Lomawaima (1993), St. Pierre (1991), and Mihesuah (1993), Brenda Child's (1996) presentation on the Flandreau boarding school, discussions with Nancy Maryboy, and personal research interests. Further motivation came from the seminar discussions of school experiences, and alleged connections between brutality in those settings and violence and abuse in Indian communities today.¹

Although I originally planned to focus on experiences of one Arizona Navajo family, upon further reflection, I decided to reestablish the historical context for orientation, and then see what data were extant. My first inclination was to limit the extensive literature review to the life histories identified in Frisbie (1982), augmented by later narratives concerning Navajos (i.e., Bighorse (1990), MacDonald with Schwarz (1993), Jett (1991), Lee (1987), Leighton and Leighton (1992), and Benedek (1995). However, even that proved too broad, given temporal restraints. Thus, the focus for this essay has been restricted to the school experiences revealed in two sources: Frank Mitchell's (1978) autobiography, Navajo Blessingway Singer (now out of print), and Johnson's (1977) collection of 22 individuals' Stories of Traditional Navajo Life and Culture.

Mitchell (1881-1967) went to Fort Defiance boarding school for about two years, intermittently in the 1890s. His account not only discusses that school, original treaty agreements, the attitudes the People had toward compulsory education and how these changed over time, but also his views on education for his own children, and later all Navajos, when he served on the Tribal Council and also blessed new school facilities as a Blessingway singer. Eventually, as the father of 12 children (two of whom died in infancy) Frank sent six to school and kept four (3f, 1 m) home to herd, farm, and help with other work. Of the six, two daughters died at or directly after being sent home from school; of the four kept home, one son died at about the age of 16. The schools mentioned in his narrative include Fort Defiance, Chinle, St. Michaels Mission, Albuquerque Indian School, Fort Apache, Haskell Institute, and St. Catherine's.

The collection by Johnson (1977) includes accounts from 18 men and 4 women, 7 of whom apparently did not go to school. In four instances (3 m, 1 f), someone said "No" to the idea; in three others, all men, there is no mention of any school experiences. Of those who did go, 18 schools are represented, albeit with variable amounts of detail: Sherman Institute, Santa Fe Indian School, Fort Lewis, Albuquerque Indian School, Phoenix Vocational School, Fort Apache, Carlisle Institute; and on the reservation: Fort Defiance, Chinle, Aneth mission school, Shiprock, Leupp, Tuba City/Blue Canyon, Christian Reformed at Rehoboth, Crownpoint, Tohatchi, and Fort Wingate.

This essay first provides an historical overview of boarding schools that enrolled Navajos, attitudes toward these schools, and

enrollment patterns through the 1930s. Against this background, gender issues in boarding school experiences are addressed by examining the similarities and differences in girls' and boys' experiences reported in these two sources (and dating from the 1890s through the 1930s). The parental and student attitudes toward school experiences and Navajo and Anglo education revealed in these sources are also explored. The essay then concludes with some thoughts about the issues and the challenges inherent in any future research efforts designed to resolve the complex questions that remain about gender issues in boarding school contexts.

I. Historical Overview

Within the extensive literature on Indian education (see Szasz 1974 and others), Navajo education is discussed in a variety of sources, both general and specific. The latter, of course, relate to unique developments at Rough Rock, Navajo Community College, and elsewhere since Navajos have often been in the forefront with experiments designed to assert self determination and sovereignty rights in the education of their children. For some selected examples, see overviews provided in Young (1961), Thompson (1975), Bailey and Bailey (1982, 1986), and Iverson (1981), discussions of the 1946 Special Navajo Education program (Coombs 1962; Roessel 1979: 18-19; Blatchford in Johnson 1977: 177), and literature on Rough Rock (Johnson 1968, Roessel 1977).

It is well known that the Treaty of 1868 which concluded the incarceration at Fort Sumner included the recognition of the necessity of education, and in Article 6, the Navajo pledge "to

compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen to attend school." These schools, which were to provide an "English Education," would be run by the government, with one teacher for every 30 children.

At that time the People promised to live peacefully and get educated. Before they left Fort Sumner they made an agreement that they would get their children educated in school. Not until the People returned did the government start having schools out here, like the ones at Fort Apache, Albuquerque and other places. The government agreed to help us with food for at least ten years if we would send our children to school. The Navajos were to provide the transportation to Fort Defiance, where the school was, and in return we were to receive help with our food and also receive tools. So the People agreed to send their children to school.

After that time a headquarters was established at Fort Defiance. Some of the people who came back wanted their children to go to school, but many of them still had the same opinion about white people; they thought that anything having to do with white people would have bad results. So for this reason, many of them did not want their children to be in school (Mitchell 1978:20).

Little progress was made under the auspices of the first teacher, Miss Charity Gaston, who worked in a room in the Fort Defiance Agency beginning in 1869. Even though the July 13, 1892 Appropriations Act made Indian education compulsory, attendance continued to be sporadic into the early 1900s (Johnson 1977, see Binl: 227) since the reservation and the Navajo population were large, and the federal government had neither enough schools nor the wherewithal to enforce its Indian educational policies until early 20th century, after the agency system was developed in 1899 (Bailey and Bailey 1986: 107).

The government started to build a network of large federal boarding schools in the 1870s, while continuing to contract on-reservation education to missionary societies and churches until 1901 (Bailey and Bailey 1986: 168). Although sharing the dominant

philosophy of civilize, Christianize, and assimilate the Indians by applying Pratt's "outing principle," Commissioners of Indian Affairs had variable attitudes toward education and the efficacy of off-reservation schools. A number of schools, both on and off the Navajo reservation, were built over the decades, as shown in the chart below that is based on data in Young (1961: 7-66), Underhill (1953: 227; 1956: 223), Thompson (1975: 27-30), Mitchell (1978: 116), Bailey and Bailey (1982: 135, 136, 283; 1986: 168-170), and Iverson (1981: 13-14). Dates for some schools vary because of differences in what was reported, which might be the date when construction started or the date of dedication, establishment, founding, completion, or opening.

Government On-Reservation Boarding Schools:

Fort Defiance, AZ--first day school-1869
 boarding school-1879-1883; early 1880s; first public school on reservation-1954. Site of first permanent boarding school
 Moqui Boarding School for Hopis--1887; became Keams Canyon, AZ in 1925 and enrolled Navajos
 Tohatchi, NM--1895-1900 (temporarily closed, 1946)
 Tuba City, AZ--1901
 Shiprock, NM--1907 (partly closed, 1945)
 Leupp, AZ--1909 (closed 1942)
 Chinle, AZ--1910
 Crownpoint, NM--1910-1912
 Toadlena, NM--1913
 Marsh Pass, AZ--1914
 Fort Wingate, NM--1925
 Blue Canyon Day School, AZ--1890s

Mission On-Reservation Boarding Schools:

Navajo Methodist Mission School, Jewett, NM--1896-1898
 St. Michaels Mission Boarding School (Franciscan, St. Michaels, AZ)--dedicated in 1898 but opened in 1902; elementary school-1902; mission high school-1946
 Nondenominational mission school, Tolchico, AZ--early 1900s
 Christian Reformed, Rehoboth, NM--1901
 Presbyterian, Ganado, AZ--1901-1912
 Nondenominational school, Aneth, UT--1904
 Presbyterian, Leupp, AZ--1920
 Catholic Day school, Lukachukai, AZ--1930

Some Government Off-Reservation Boarding Schools:

Chilocco Indian School, Chilocco, OK--1884
Albuquerque Indian School, NM--1881-1886
Grand Junction School, Grand Junction, CO--1886 (closed 1911)
Phoenix Indian School, Phoenix, AZ--1891
Santa Fe Indian School, Santa Fe, NM--1890-1891
 Carlisle Institute, PA--1879 (first off-reservation
 boarding school in the U.S.)
Haskell Institute, Lawrence, KS--1884
Fort Lewis Indian School, CO--1892 (closed 1910)
Theodore Roosevelt School, Fort Apache, AZ--1893
Sherman Institute, Riverside, CA--1902

By 1928, eight boarding schools and nine day schools were operating on the reservation (Young 1961: 12). After the 1928 Meriam Report and the subsequent attempts at reform by John Collier, boarding schools were de-emphasized. During the mid-1930s, the Navajo reservation became the site of 50 new day schools.² While Navajo responses continued to vary (see Iverson 1981: 39-42), as Mitchell (1978: 309) indicates, major attitude shifts occurred over time:

The People did not realize that school is a good thing in the beginning; they did not know what school was for and what good there would be in that for them. Therefore, they opposed it, and on and off there was trouble between the Tribe and the government because of that...

Now, however, the People are beginning to realize the value of an education. Now most of the People understand that it is best for their children. So gradually, schools are being established; first it was by the government, and now it is being done by the state and even by the Tribe itself. There is also an effort to inform the older people about the value of education.

With the help of the government and the People's own efforts, schools are being located within the reach of everybody so that all children can go. Some are boarding schools where the children stay; others are just day schools where the children come home at night. We also realize now how expensive the schools are to operate, how much gas they use, the wear and tear on the cars, and the other related expenses...Those things are now being done for our school children (Ibid.:309-310).

Many graduates of these schools ended up involved with them later in life by driving school buses, hauling construction materials in

wagons while physical plants were built, or working as interpreters, cooks, aides, dorm matrons, disciplinarians, or advisers. It is also clear that women, in particular, made use of the schools' laundry or sewing facilities (Frisbie 1982: 24).

Enrollment Patterns and Navajo Attitudes: 1870s-1900s

According to Bailey and Bailey (1982: 135; 1986: 65-66), Navajo leaders had negative attitudes toward western education by 1878, and federal efforts at educating Navajos in the 1870s and 1880s were failures. Although the Fort Defiance school had 49 students in the Fall of 1881, by July 1884, the number had dwindled to 3. This school had "iron shutters over the windows" to discourage running away and had to temporarily suspend classes in March 1882 "due to (the) drunkenness and disorderliness of Indians" (Bailey and Bailey 1986: 65). By 1887, leaders were refusing to send children to Fort Defiance, preferring to enroll them in closer schools at Chinle and Pueblo, Colorado (Ibid.). The 1880s also saw Navajos attending off-reservation schools, including Carlisle. Three Navajo students at Carlisle died in the Fall of 1883 (cause unspecified), "two of whom were apparently Manuelito's sons" (Ibid.), perhaps explaining why there were no Navajos at Carlisle by 1889. In 1885, six Navajo boys were "in the east," although opposition was increasing to sending children off-reservation. In 1890, half of the Navajo children at the boarding school at Grand Junction, CO (which opened in 1886) ran away. Attempts to teach Navajos to read, write, or speak English resulted in only between 5 and 65 acquiring such skills by 1891.

A Navajo agent in 1884 had concluded on the basis of his experience at the Fort Defiance school that 'the children would come and stay a day or two, get some clothes, and then run away back to their hogans, but few of them attended regularly, consequently the school done [sic] but little good' (Iverson 1981: 13).

After 1890, attendance increased slowly. Teachers had to have Civil Service Certificates by 1891 (Mitchell 1978: 75), and compulsory education became effective in 1892. In that year, out of a population of almost 18,000, fewer than 100 children were enrolled (Johnston 1966: 362). But attitudes improved to the point that Fort Defiance had 206 students enrolled by 1894 (Bailey and Bailey 1982: 283), and by 1896, officials reported that all students there had come voluntarily (rather than via arrest or kidnapping by Navajo policemen) and stayed all year (Mitchell 1978: 75). The People requested additional on-reservation schools in the late 1890s.

Mitchell (1978: 49) relates that many Navajos were opposed to sending their children to Fort Defiance, and told them to hide in caves, mountains, by creeks, or wherever, to avoid being seen when unknown visitors (i.e., suspected recruiters) appeared, especially after the middle 1890s. "They told us that the children were going to be fed over there and they would sleep over there and be taken care of, and learn to read and write and know how to work the papers." Headmen, such as Chee Dodge, and other leaders appointed at Fort Sumner, went around trying to persuade the People to agree to send their children to Fort Defiance, so that the Navajos could get ahead, but the Navajos in general were opposed. "They said, 'Well, who wants to give his children away to somebody else, especially to a white man? Nobody wants to do that'" (Mitchell 1978: 50).

Those who helped recruit, or brought in their children voluntarily, were given gifts by the agent; men got wagons, farm tools/implements, harnesses, and axes and women were given skillets, coffee pots and mills, pans, pails, and other utensils. Such gifts spawned rumors and gossip which accused adults of selling their children, getting "payments for your child whom you've enrolled in school." This confused the People even more, so that many did not know which way to go. But most of them opposed school (Mitchell 1978: 55-57).³

One of the main objections to enrolling the children was that white people are not Navajos. They are foreign people, people of another race. The People were suspicious; they thought that if they put their children in school, the white people would take the children away from them and either kill them or do something so they would never be seen again. Even if they remained alive, the children would just go further and further from their homes and before the People knew it, they would never come back. That's what they used to say (Mitchell 1978: 55-56).

When Mitchell (1978: 68) chose not to go back to school right away after being at Fort Defiance for half a year in 1894, his mother agreed. "They kept telling me that if you live among the white people, you are going to get sick later on from that, and you cannot be cured from that." That scared him enough so that he stayed home, wore out his school clothes, and went back into his earlier "run down conditions" for a few years before returning, this time with a younger brother, Tom.

Navajo distrust of and physical resistance to federal education, well-known from oral history accounts of early reservation days, worsened after agents began using force rather than persuasion to recruit students. Although the original model was for headmen and other leaders to visit families and try and convince them to enroll

their children, eventually force was applied with the agents deputizing others to help with roundups of children, and also sending mounted Navajo police out to get the job done. Force included direct kidnapping of children from the hogans and fields, threats of jail to parents who did not comply after being warned, and jail (in Johnson 1977, see Denetsosie: 79, Tsosie: 113, Blatchford: 173 and 177, Dick: 183, Binl: 228, Nelson: 231 and 241, Clani: 243, and Kansaswood: 274). Sometimes, however, children were forced to attend by their parents, who took them to school in wagons or on horseback as required, but with no prior notice to the child (in Johnson 1977, see Blatchford: 174, and Bogoutin: 280) perhaps being motivated by the knowledge that free implements would reward their trouble.⁴

In the two sources being examined herein, four incidents (dating between 1892 and 1918) are recalled as caused by over-zealous agents using force to compel Navajo children to go to school: those involving trouble at Round Rock, the Chinle area, Beautiful Mountain, and the Tuba City/Kaibeto area. The most famous of these is the "Trouble at Round Rock," an October, 1892 event precipitated in October, 1892 by the anger of Black Horse and his followers over Agent Dana Shipley's efforts to round up children for school by coercive means involving police. Mitchell's (1978: 50-55) account also includes Chic Sandoval's and other data (69-73nn.2-5; see also Binl in Johnson 1977: 228). This is also most likely the reference event in the following testimony from Nabokov's (1992: 217) compendium:

In one famous incident, a white agent was captured by a Navajo headman who was furious over the forced recruitment and mistreatment of students at the Fort Defiance boarding school in Arizona. 'When we put our children in school it is

like giving our hearts up,' said a Navajo parent, 'and when the Superintendent abuses our children it hurts us very much. The name we have given this superintendent is Billy Goat. A billy goat is always butting all the rest of the sheep and imposing on them.'

Van Valkenburgh's (1941: 39) account of a confrontation that occurred in the Chinle area in October or November, 1905 between "Silent One" and others against Agent Reuben Perry (Mitchell 1978: 117-118) cites forced roundup of children for the Fort Defiance school as the cause, although others disagree. In this incident, the "rebels" were eventually captured by soldiers and incarcerated at Alcatraz. Both Clani and Ration (in Johnson 1977: 251, 310) give accounts of a threatened uprising in 1913 or 1914 in the Beautiful Mountain area involving an Aneth, Utah medicine man and a band of hostile Navajos who were opposed to education and Agent W. T. Shelton. The military was called in to quell the trouble.⁵ Finally, both Richardson and Kansaswood (in Johnson 1977: 266-271, 274-275) give accounts of the murder of Mr. Tadidini (Mr. Pollen), a Navajo policeman who lived north of Tuba City, near Navajo Mountain, but who had been hiding out in the Kaibeto area because he refused to send his daughter back to Tuba City boarding school, after she had run away twice. Their stories note the eventual execution of one of three white range riders responsible for the murder.⁶

After various rumored or actual rebellions which threatened individual agents and resulted in U.S. troops being summoned, the distrust finally decreased, as shown in both the accounts and enrollment statistics from the late 1920s.

Who Went to School? Who Decided?

It is clear from personal narratives that if a family agreed to education, either a single child was chosen to go or several were sent, most often one at a time, for a short while, since the others were needed at home to help herd the livestock and do other work (in Johnson 1977, see Hanley: 30, Tsosie: 113-115, Brown: 147, Tracy: 158, and Dick: 183). Families would also replace an older child with a younger one, even though in some families, more than one might be going to school, even at the same school. In cases where there was only one child at home, that reason alone was often used to refuse enrollment, since the child's help was needed, especially with herding (in Johnson 1977, see Richardson: 271).

According to Mitchell (1978: 57), it was the women, not men, who objected strongly when the recruiters came. His own mother did so, against the numerous attempts to persuade her otherwise by Charlie Mitchell and others. Frank was the only one from the family brought down from Black Mountain to Round Rock in response to orders from recruiting police. He, however, wanted to go to school, to escape the early morning running and his job of working the bellows for a mean, scolding uncle, "Blacksmith" (Mitchell 1978: 43). The idea that women objected more strongly than men to enrolling their children in school can also be found in other narratives (see Frisbie 1982: 25; Leighton 1982: 50); in the six refusals documented in Johnson (1977), two came from mothers, two from fathers, one from a grandmother, and one refuser (in Brown's story) is not named.⁷ Those identified in Johnson as responsible for children being enrolled include an uncle (Hanley), four fathers (Begay, Denetsosie, Clani,

Bogoutin), parents (Blake, Kansaswood), a grandfather (Cadman), and three children themselves (Nelson, Clani, Kansaswood).

According to Mitchell (1978: 56),

In the beginning, they only enrolled the children of the servants of the well-to-do families. And these servants were usually new to the Navajo Tribe. Many of them were Pueblo Indians who had come and joined the Navajos; some of them married Navajos and had children, and they were the ones who put their children in school first. They were not classed as Navajos. And then there were others who were just used as servants to do chores for the well-to-do people. Children of those families were also enrolled, and some of them were pretty well advanced in age, closer to twenty when they were in school. The People did not want to risk placing their own children in school.

Mitchell (1978: 57) adds,

I was the first child in our family to be placed in school; that's because I was sort of the black sheep. They said the most ugly ones were put in school first; I guess I was the ugliest one in the family.⁸

Now when they started placing children in school, they didn't take the prime; they took those who were not so intelligent, those the People thought could be spared because of their physical conditions, and those who were not well taken care of; those were the kinds of children they enrolled first. Some of them were actually half-witted. Of course, there are any number of such children among the Navajos. Some of them were children of Navajos who were a little better off than the rest and had servants.

Hanley's grandmother expressed it differently, when disagreeing with his idea about going (in Johnson 1977: 30):

Oh, no! What are you saying, my grandson? People like you are not put in school. It's only for those who don't have homes and just roam around, the ones who are not well-mannered--they are the ones who are put in school. (Hanley, born in 1898, started school in 1916, at age 18, claiming that he was 16.)⁹

Enrollment Patterns: 1900s-1930s

After 1900, the percentage of the population attending school rose, as did the length of time spent in school. For a long time,

though, attendance waxed and waned according to individual family circumstances and movement patterns, experiences of those in school, and student decisions about staying, returning, transferring, running away, and so forth. Students continued to come for one to several years and then leave, starting school at age 6, 8, 10, 12. (The range is 5 to 18 in Johnson (1977).) Then sometimes the person was replaced by another member of the family; often a younger child was sent in exchange for an older one who might have already had two to four years of education (Bailey and Bailey 1986: 170). Thus, few completed a full K-6 education.

Between the 1900s and middle 1930s, however, changes were noticeable. The early 1920s showed an enrollment surge (Blatchford in Johnson 1977: 179) which was coupled with increased numbers of Navajos in off-reservation schools since reservation schools were filled to capacity (Bailey and Bailey 1982: 169-170). The surge was followed by another decline in the late 1920s (Ibid.: 289). During World War I and directly thereafter, some schools had problems getting students to enroll; others had difficulties obtaining food and supplies because of slow transportation and road conditions, and many of the boarding and mission schools developed both farming areas to raise food and exchange programs to swap surpluses (in Johnson 1977, see Blatchford: 179 and Kansaswood: 275).

In 1900, the estimates are that "one child in nine attended school" (Thompson 1975: 30, based on Johnston 1966: 49); by 1930, 46% of the school-aged children were enrolled and 32.2% (about one-third) of the adult population had some education (Johnston 1966: 367). "In 1936, 38 Navajos were graduated from high school and eight enrolled

in post-high-school courses" (Thompson 1975: 30, based on Johnston 1966: 52). The 1930s also brought the push toward building day schools (Cadman in Johnson 1977: 212; Mitchell 1978: 256, 309). All was not rosy in the schools, however. For example, see Nelson's (in Johnson 1977: 239) comment about the problems of student drinking and skipping school at the new Navajo Mountain day school in 1939, and the high number of runaways at the Shonto boarding school shortly after it started in 1936. Blatchford (in Johnson 1977: 177) notes that there were still not enough local schools by the 1940s.

II. Gender Issues

The two sources under analysis suggest that Navajo boys' and girls' boarding school experiences were both similar and different. For example, the 1868 treaty stipulations and the 1892 compulsory education law applied to both girls and boys. Hence, both were rounded up and taken to institutions which shared architectural designs and military models of organization and operation. Once there, however, boys and girls were segregated by sex, in space as well as in dress, work details, and vocational training. The evidence in the two sources for parallels and contrasts in the school experiences of girls and boys is examined in more detail below to explicate the significance of gender as a variable in these experiences.

Shared Experiences

As is well known, all students experienced a military atmosphere characterized by marching, drilling, and frequent roll

calls, and a day punctuated by bugles, bells, and/or whistles. The daily round of a hypothetical day was structurally the same for both. Boys and girls got up at 6, washed, dressed, made their beds, prepared for inspection, marched to an hour of exercising and drilling, marched to breakfast, said grace, ate, marched back to the dorm, straightened it up, and marched to classes, which perhaps were broken up with recess. After similar procedures at lunch, younger students did assigned chores and older ones went to vocational training in numerous places on campus. Time for play might follow, preceding washing up and marching to dinner, followed by preparing for lights out around 8 p.m. On weekends, when meals were apt to be "much better," both boys and girls might get free time after the weekly bathing, changing and boiling of clothes, and cleaning of dorms and other buildings on Saturdays, a day when at least boys were also known to get haircuts and do shoe polishing. However, Saturdays, as shown below, also brought time to serve extra punishments. Sunday brought inspection and then a morning of church, as did one week night, after supper.¹⁰

Most of the basic school rules, designed to instill obedience and subservience, applied equally to boys and girls. Except for dictums for girls about wearing makeup (Blake in Johnson 1977: 202) and for boys about removing hats (Mitchell 1978: 63, 75, and others), the school rules were essentially the same. Many of them covered proper behavior and manners and prompt response to bells, other sound devices, and commands of teachers, aides, matrons, and disciplinarians. They also included numerous directives about how to eat and dress properly, make beds, keep dorms clean, have orderly

conversations, and exercise, march, and drill. The rules about not speaking Navajo applied to both, as did rules about walking on campus sidewalks. Older students were expected to help younger ones adjust and learn good behavior (Begay in Johnson 1977: 66).

The academic part of the curriculum was shared as was the grade-specific nature of its content. Likewise, both girls and boys contributed labor by doing assigned chores each day, usually after classes. The two sources report the following academic emphases during K-6 experiences: playing with clay and crayons, learning names of animals and clothes, ABCs, numbers, reading, writing, and speaking English, penmanship, spelling, history, arithmetic, exercising, drilling, and marching. Others also report the addition of music, such as band, in grades 4 or 5 (Mitchell 1978: 62, 75; in Johnson 1977, see Begay: 62-63, Martin: 131, Blatchford: 175-177, 180-181, Blake: 203, Kansaswood: 279, and Hadley: 287).

Higher grades included more history, math, and English as well as additional subjects such as biology, geometry, algebra, geography, and civics (see Blatchford: 181, Kansaswood: 278 in Johnson 1977). Extracurricular options expanded to include band, orchestra, chorus, drama and letterman's clubs, national guard, talking movies, dances, and special programs (see Denetsosie: 96 in Johnson 1977). While these appear open to both girls and boys (except national guard) in these two sources, sports were segregated. Basketball is reported for girls (Kansaswood: 278 in Johnson 1977) while that sport plus baseball, shinny (ground hockey), football, track, wrestling, boxing, and rabbit hunting are reported for boys (Denetsosie: 92, Kansaswood: 279, and Ration: 310 in Johnson 1977).

While at boarding schools, boys and girls also encountered similar problems. Both suffered from various illnesses and epidemics including influenza, measles, mumps, chickenpox, pneumonia, TB, and trachoma (Mitchell 1978: 66, 75, 88, 142; in Johnson 1977, see Hanley: 34-35, Denetsosie: 83, Cadman: 207, and Nelson: 235). The sources also mention the deaths of both boys and girls, sometimes for unspecified causes, as well as the fact that boys were required to ignore cultural taboos and help bury deceased classmates (Mitchell 1978: 66, 88, 142-143, 257, 283, 303-304; in Johnson 1977, see Blake: 201, and Nelson: 239).¹¹ Mitchell (1978: 142-143) is among those who, as an adult, kept some of his own children out of school because he understood that overcrowded conditions exacerbated the spread of epidemics and the fatalities associated with them.

Besides illness, female and male students alike suffered as a result of other problems, although the amount of suffering was sometimes affected by various factors, such as presence of siblings or other relatives at the same school, age, and the number of years of school experience. The problems identified in these sources are often glossed as "hardships, discipline, and problems at school." They resulted in crying, stealing food and perhaps other school supplies (see Hadley: 290 in Johnson 1977), and getting in trouble because of breaking school rules, acting out, or trying to run away, and then being punished.¹²

Problems, other than illnesses mentioned above, are referenced in the two sources in Mitchell (1978: 65-67, 75-76), and in Johnson (1977) in the accounts of Begay (62-65), Denetsosie (82-83, 85, 90, 92, 94), Martin (121, 130), Blatchford (175-177), Blake (202, 204),

Cadman (210), Nelson (233,240), Clani (244-245), Kansaswood (278), Hadley (285-287, 290), and Ration (309). Those specifically identified include:

1. homesickness and loneliness, especially during the first two years (Begay, Denetsosie, Martin, Clani, Hadley)
2. boredom, especially on weekends (Denetsosie)
3. initial shock because of haircut, delousing, new name, strange clothing and uniforms, beds, bunkbeds and sheets, showers, table rules, and other strange customs (Begay, Denetsosie, Martin, Blake, Kansaswood)
4. the isolation of some schools (Denetsosie)
5. infrequency of parental visits, inability to see their families, sometimes for years (especially given "outing" programs) (Begay, Denetsosie, Clani)
6. separation of siblings [at some schools]
7. hunger, not enough food (Denetsosie, Nelson, Kansaswood, Hadley, Ration). However, Mitchell(1978:62) says the opposite
8. military atmosphere, regimentation, drilling, life according to bugles and bells (Denetsosie, Kansaswood, Cadman)¹³
9. prohibition of use of Navajo language (Blake)
10. bed wetting (Blatchford)
11. no respect for Navajo cultural rules about interacting with clan relatives, touching, avoiding the dead (Mitchell)
12. meanness of others (student officers, older students toward younger ones, teachers, disciplinarians, matrons, workers); no display of love or caring (Denetsosie, Kansaswood, Hadley)
13. strictness and strict enforcement of foreign rules, harsh disciplinary measures, corporeal punishment (Martin, Blake, Nelson, Clani, Hadley, Mitchell)

Different Experiences

In addition to similarities, the two sources also suggest a number of differences between boys' and girls' boarding school experiences, including those in ever-fluctuating enrollment figures (Mitchell 1978: 75). The basic plan at all schools, of course, was one of segregation by sex, well documented in Lomawaima (1993) and elsewhere. The two sources illustrate gender differences in the

uniforms at seven schools,¹⁴ outing experiences of three students,¹⁵ housing in single sex dorms (see Denetsosie: 82, Martin: 130, and Clani: 244 in Johnson 1977), meals in separate parts of the common dining room, sitting separately in common classrooms (see Clani: 244 in Johnson 1977), doing different daily chores in different places on campus (Mitchell 1978: 62), marching in single sex drill/march teams, and recreational participation in single sex sports.

The sex-specific vocational/industrial training, which was available to older students (i.e., perhaps meaning in 7th grade), and consumed half of the day at many schools, is remembered and commented upon by many. Training experiences were rotated every one to three months. As Lomawaima (1993: 227) and others note, girls were trained according to the "Victorian cult of domesticity" and thus spent their time learning to work in school kitchens, laundries, dining rooms, dorms, sewing rooms, and bakeries. Girls were directed into home economics, cooking, hand and machine sewing, dress and clothing construction, piece quilting, loom weaving, canning and pickling, tailoring, laundering, cleaning, baking, homemaking, housekeeping, and acquisition of domestic skills which would enable them to earn money on outing programs.

Depending on individual schools' resources, boys worked at learning skills related to carpentry, farming, gardening, baking, animal husbandry, blacksmithing, construction, masonry, harness making, shoe repair, plumbing, and engine repair (Bailey and Bailey 1982: 288; Mitchell 1978: 76; and Denetsosie: 96, and Cadman: 208-209, 211 in Johnson 1977). Boys who went to multitribal vocational high schools might continue with the above or add painting, house

painting, stone masonry, brick laying, cabinet making, auto mechanics, engineering, leather work, printing, irrigation, cultivation, elevation for plants, harvesting, dairying, and animal husbandry (especially of hogs, chickens, cows, turkeys, pigeons) (Denetsosie: 96, Blatchford: 178-179, Nelson: 233, Kansaswood: 278-279 in Johnson 1977). As Nelson (in Johnson 1977: 236-237) indicates, sometimes boys helped build the classroom buildings. Post-high school education might lead to training in electricity, radio, telephone, and diesel engines (Blatchford: 179 in Johnson 1977).

The sex-specific chores are remembered as clearly as the different foci of vocational classes. Chores, which were overseen by foremen, rotated monthly at some schools and every few months at others. Most jobs were assigned to older students and performed in the afternoon, although little boys did carry wood and coal and help with fire protection (Mitchell 1978: 76), and little girls worked in the dorms. Chores identified in the two sources show that girls were assigned domestic work in the dorms (cleaning, making beds); the laundry (wash, iron, fold); the dining room and kitchen (set tables, serve, cook, wash dishes, plan menus); the bakery (make bread and pastries); and in sewing areas (use and make patterns, dresses, shirts) (see Begay: 62-63, and Denetsosie: 90 in Johnson 1977; Mitchell 1978: 65). The work detailed to boys focused on the farm (dairy, milk cows, care for hogs, horses, herd milk goats); custodial (clean, sweep, and mop all buildings, mow school lawns, weed flower gardens); hauling coal and wood; and helping in shoe and carpentry shops. When they were assigned to the kitchen, dining room, or

laundry, it was to help wash dishes, haul water, and do other heavy tasks (Denetsosie: 90, Nelson: 233, Clani: 244, all in Johnson 1977; Mitchell 1978: 63-64).

Treatment of Children: Different by Gender?

As Thompson (1975: 28) and many others indicate, the severe disciplinary standards, military regimentation, and punishment, including corporeal punishment, are well-remembered, documented, and resented aspects of Indian educational experiences. However, as she and others also point out, such standards were neither uncommon in other schools of the time period, nor was the "use of the rod" within families as a means of teaching discipline and rearing children to behave and conform to cultural norms viewed as "child abuse" at that time. The philosophy of the times, indeed, was "spare the rod and spoil the child."

One of the questions I am interested in is whether or not corporeal punishment at the boarding schools was also gender-specific. Although a number of schools are represented in the two sources, without detailed work I suspect we will not be able to answer this question. Mitchell (1978: 67) suggests that gender did affect punishments, stating that when girls disobeyed they were more apt to be made to stand in the corner, whereas boys were whipped. Other narrators suggest little, if any, distinction.

The two sources indicate that students were punished for numerous reasons, with the method sometimes chosen according to the student's age. "We were watched all the time, even outside" (Mitchell 1978: 67). Some students learned "the hard way" (Clani:

244 in Johnson 1977); others report being so afraid of the punishments they tried to follow the rules (Mitchell 1978: 67; Clani: 244 in Johnson 1977). Disciplinarians had the job of punishing students, both boys and girls, and some carried ropes in their pockets to use as whips (Denetsosie: 85 in Johnson 1977), to reinforce slapping. Some used straps (Clani: 244 in Johnson 1977). Teachers (usually Anglos, sometimes all women), boys' and girls' advisers, and matrons also administered punishments, and older students helped discipline younger ones, as did student officers of military and work squads. The latter discipline might include kicking in the behind or reporting them to authorities (Denetsosie: 92, 94 in Johnson 1977). Weekends, especially Saturdays, were used as times when extra punishments could be served, be they doing additional chores, marching, carrying mattresses in the square, parading with signs around the neck, or cross-dressing and eating with the opposite sex. Whether there were significant differences from one school to the next is unclear, but should be investigated, even though the accounts in Johnson (1977) from individuals who transferred to a number of schools suggest that all were equally strict, rigid, and punitive (Denetsosie: 90, Nelson: 240). Parents, at least in the 1920s, did complain about the corporeal punishments (Blatchford: 177, and Clani: 244 in Johnson 1977) but were powerless to change them.¹⁶

In the two sources, reasons for punishments and the specific kinds of punishments used are referenced in Mitchell (1978: 67, 76) and Johnson (1977), in the accounts of Begay (63-64), Denetsosie (85, 90, 92, 94), Blatchford (175-177), Blake (204), Cadman (210), Nelson

(240), Clani (244-245), Kansaswood (278), and Hadley (285). Some narrators mention only one punishment, but it is not safe to assume its use for all of the misdemeanors the individual identifies. The question of gender differences is problematic. While Mitchell (1978: 76) indicates that the rule about Saturday haircuts applied to boys and refusing to abide by it resulted in jail time, narrators often comment only about punishments concerned with their own gender. For certain identified errors, such as wearing makeup (Blake), not keeping desks clean (Begay), or not staying on sidewalks (Mitchell), no punishment is specified.

Specific punishments identified in the two sources and the rules with which they were associated are listed below; the punitive actions taken in response to "running away" are discussed last and separately referenced, given seminar participants' interest in this topic:

1. speaking Navajo rather than English--whipped in basement (Denetsosie); name written down and on Saturday, forced to cross-dress (Blake)
2. not obeying teacher or otherwise acting out in class--hit on palm or back of hand and made to stand in corner (Mitchell); spanked with ruler or strap and sat in dunce corner for hours (Begay); paddled in class with wooden object or leather strap (Nelson)
3. boys fighting each other--boxed it out (Kansaswood)
4. chewing gum in class--put on tip of nose and stood facing class for rest of day (Begay)
5. being naughty, stubborn, hesitating over a command, being rude, back talking to matrons, not showing courtesy, not being orderly in conversations (Blake, Begay, Clani)--strapped (Clani); spanked with ruler or strap (Begay); additional punishment on Saturday afternoons by carrying signs around neck proclaiming, "I am a bad boy," instead of playing, and marching in square for five hours (Clani: 244)
6. any misbehaviors--slapped or whipped with rope by disciplinarian; whipped in basement (Denetsosie)
7. being late for lineups, class, meals [which might or might not also include not responding promptly to bells or bugles]--strapped by both sides of "belt line" which

8. student had to run through, back and forth (Blatchford) sleeping in church--reported by student officers and then assigned extra duties the following weekend (Denetsosie)
9. bed wetting--made to carry mattress around square between two dorms all day (Blatchford)
10. stealing food: cantaloupes (Hadley); apples, goat milk (Mitchell 1978: 65, 67)--strapped and locked up for a day by disciplinarian; put to bed and strapped by matrons (evidently on bare buttocks) (Begay, in case of apple theft and return after dorms locked); whipped in basement (Denetsosie)

Running away also brought punishment, if one were caught and returned to school. Often students ran away to go home, but occasionally they headed elsewhere, including the Apache July 4th celebration (Nelson: 234 in Johnson 1977), another boarding school where a sibling was enrolled (Nelson: 235), or to search for work on railroads (Mitchell 1978: 67). Sometimes if the student reached home, family members allowed him/her to stay there; others, including mothers and grandfathers, returned their students directly to school or took them to places where they could get return transportation. Sometimes students got lost and ended up with injuries, frostbite, being mauled or killed by bears, or freezing to death (Hanley: 31, and Nelson: 234 in Johnson 1977). And sometimes, one or two individuals in a group would get tired or scared and decide to go back (Martin: 132 in Johnson 1977). The two sources suggest that both girls and boys ran away; reasons cited include boredom, loneliness, homesickness, hunger and subsequent attempts to steal food (Begay: 64, and Hadley: 285 in Johnson 1977); and, as mentioned above, searches for excitement, siblings, or employment. Some narrators in Johnson (1977), upon reflection, say they really don't

know why they ran away; maybe they were just being foolish (Ration: 312).

The usual response was that the school sent out a search party, which might include Navajo police, to hunt down the students, without notifying their families of their absence. Students, when and if located, were rounded up and returned. Sometimes students ran away and were returned in large groups, as in the October 22, 1902 roundup of 26 students from Fort Defiance (Mitchell 1978: 76). Incidents reported in these two sources suggest that girls ran away with other girls, and boys with boys. Students planned their runaways, sometimes stockpiling food before departing (Nelson: 234 in Johnson 1977). Police are known to have identified runaways by school numbers on the necks of their longjohns (Blatchford: 175 in Johnson 1977), and to have beaten students with sticks upon capture, before returning them (Hanley: 28-30 in Johnson 1977).

Punishments back at school for running away varied, and Mitchell's (1978: 67) account suggests that gender and age affected the methods. Blatchford (in Johnson 1977: 175), however, claims that all schools used the same punishment for runaways. References to running away can be found in Mitchell (1978: 67, 76) and in Johnson (1977) in the narratives of Hanley (28-31), Denetsosie (90), Martin (132), Blatchford (174-175), Blake (203), Cadman (208), Binl (227), Nelson (234-235, 240), Hadley (286), and Ration (312). Punishments identified for running away in these sources are as follows:

1. given extra chores. Girls were made to stand in corner, boys got whipped. Larger boys had to carry a big log over their shoulder, walking back and forth in school yard after they were caught (Mitchell)
2. scolded by matron and sent to bed without supper. Questioned next day by superintendent and wife about

- whereabouts of rest of group, and threatened with being "hung on a tree" if tried to run away again (Martin)
3. chained up with big iron ball in school cellar; 25 strappings on bare bottom for first attempt; more if tried again (Blatchford)
 4. locked up in the school, not in jail; not allowed to go outside for about a week (Blake)
 5. made to stand outside all day facing building in one spot, or carry a stick back and forth across ground, or walk in circles for up to 2 days with barbed wire and ring attached to ankle, where all could see, or cross-dress and eat with opposite sex (Nelson, who specifies these options applied to both boys and girls, and were used at three schools: Tuba City, Fort Wingate, and Fort Apache)
 6. jailed in hollow of a rock, locked in there; place was on campus and others heard runaways in there crying (Hadley)

III. Parental And Student Attitudes Toward Schools

While it is easy to stress the negative memories and to blame school experiences for a multitude of problems in today's world, it is important to watch for both positive and negative comments about these experiences in published accounts, and to probe all thoughts during any future interviews designed to reconstruct these experiences.

The positive assessments of boarding school experiences offered in the two sources under consideration can be summarized as follows:

1. Schools provided children with food, clothing, and shoes at least some of the time. These might be rare at home, especially if the family were large and poor. Schools also provided a place to sleep, and a place to be cared for. Some families took a pragmatic view toward school, seeing it as one way of providing relief from impoverishment both for a particular child and the group's resources as a whole. Mitchell (1978: 59) in asserting that he was glad to go to school, said, "most people were half starved out here since they were not settled down yet" [in 1894]. He was happy with plenty of food, proud of his new clothes and shoes (p. 59, 62), and glad school kept them clean and got rid of lice.
2. Schools took children away from the harsh discipline at

home administered by elders and from the hard labors of childhood on the reservation in those days. Recall that Mitchell wanted to escape his mean uncle "Blacksmith" by going to school, and Nelson (in Johnson) actually ran away to school to escape hard labor and the preaching and lecturing of elders at home.

3. Schools taught one how to read and write, to do paperwork. One also got skills, like speaking English, which would help a person get a job "for money" in the future. With increasing awareness, Navajos understood that their world had changed significantly after Fort Sumner, and that without an Anglo education they would be "handicapped" when trying to participate in that other world. By the early 1920s, many recognized the value of an Anglo education and the fact that speaking English would be an economic advantage, either for the individual child in the future or for the family as a whole, who gained one English speaker. Some later worked as interpreters; others used skills learned at school to secure wage labor jobs in a diversity of settings. As Mrs. Martin (in Johnson 1977: 312) says, "you learned a lot." Others felt that school would bring success and said that it had in their own lives (see Mitchell, and Begay and Hanley in Johnson). Others said that the person in their family who "put them in school" favored education (see Begay, Denetsosie, Martin, and Cadman in Johnson).
4. Schools, especially the boarding ones, allowed a child to escape other kinds of family problems at home (see Blatchford in Johnson).

The negative assessments of boarding school experiences in these two sources stem from a variety of reasons, as shown in the summary list below:

1. Coercion by police during direct and surreptitious roundups of children for schools after education was made compulsory in 1892.
2. Curriculum provided little of utility since Navajos had successfully raised children for adulthood for centuries without Anglo interference.
3. Curriculum was meaningless since neither teachers nor students were bilingual.
4. Schools removed children from their own families and cultural traditions.
5. Curriculum and entire experience designed to indoctrinate, civilize, and Christianize. As a result, some graduates do not know Navajo culture and language, and are not able to transmit their tribal heritage to future generations.
6. Children were used essentially and primarily as slaves,

- to provide the physical labor necessary to maintain the schools.
7. Academic components were weak; too much time was spent on vocational training and not enough on academic subjects or training students for the discrimination that awaited them in the larger world.
 8. Schools were too far away from home; distant locations prevented visits with children.
 9. Lack of communication from the schools caused worries and anxieties for parents who were not informed about children who ran away, got sick, or had other problems.
 10. Stories the People heard about the cruel treatment of children at the schools.
 11. Memories of personal experiences with corporeal punishment.

I find it interesting that both Mitchell (1978) and some of the narrators in Johnson (1977) reflect on their school experiences in a life review frame, and then end up assessing their experiences as positive, although perhaps too harsh and difficult, and filled with hardships. Some speak only about the value of an Anglo education; others value both Navajo and Anglo educations (Mitchell 1978: 212, 223, 229, 260, 314; in Johnson 1977, see Denetsosie: 102, Begay: 65, 68-69, Lansing: 109, Martin: 134, Clani: 246, 248, Kansaswood: 279, Bogoutin: 282, and Ration: 311-312). In the course of the latter, a number raise another interesting and important issue: that of parallels in approaches to discipline used in both traditional Navajo childrearing and boarding schools in the 1880s-1930s time period.

It is easy to blame boarding school experiences for today's problems in Indian families and communities while forgetting these problems are global (not just Indian) and among those faced by people who never went to boarding schools. Thus, I believe it is important to at least remind ourselves of some of the descriptions of traditional Navajo childrearing that are available in these two

accounts (not to mention elsewhere), which cover narratives of individuals born between 1881 and 1916¹⁷ (see Mitchell 1978: 43; and in Johnson 1977, the narratives of Lansing: 105,109, Tsosie: 112-113, Austin: 135-140, Tracy: 153-155, Martin: 122, 133, Dick: 183-184, Blake: 201, Cadman: 207, Binl: 221, Nelson: 231, Clani: 246, Van Winkle: 256-257, Bogoutin: 280, and Ration: 304-305, 311-312). These accounts document the hardships of childhood on the reservation and the corrective measures such as whippings, strappings, verbal tongue lashings, withholding of food, and so forth, used on both girls and boys who were lazy, stubborn, stupid, talked back, acted out, or did not immediately respond to the orders of elders or abide by their teachings.

Elders constantly preached and lectured and had numerous expectations of children. Among the latter were the requirements of rising early, running at dawn, rolling in the snow, racing and yelling, wrestling with tree stumps, exercising, milking goats, herding, hauling wood and water, grinding corn (girls), hunting rabbits and prairie dogs, and helping with the stock and farm work (boys), and other daily family responsibilities. These experiences were viewed as necessary because this was how one learned adult survival skills; became tough, healthy, reliable, and strong; developed endurance; and became prepared for adulthood. Ration, who was born in 1901, says (in Johnson 1977: 304), "When I was a boy there was no such thing as an idle day... Times were hard; so we all did our share of the work around our home.", when mentioning students following orders to gather firewood during the trip to Fort Defiance school, Mitchell(1978: 61) says:

We did that, because in those days, when a command was given, it had to be followed, it had to be done. It is not like today when you tell children to do something and they do not pay any attention. In those days, an order was an order. You had to do it.

Although narrators, upon reflection, view these experiences as hard, they see them as providing the knowledge of the world they needed, be it how to care for stock, weave, grow and process food, forage things from the environment, or take care of illnesses. As Leighton (1982: 43) notes, the teachings of elders were apprenticeship instructions for adult life. And often the avoidance of such teachings by adults today is blamed for laziness and obesity; decrease in the number of Navajo speakers; ignorance about clan rules concerning marriage and cultural rules about respect for elders and proper greeting behaviors; and even contemporary susceptibility to certain diseases. Both Mitchell and narrators in Johnson (1977) urge parents to recognize the transmission of traditional teachings as their responsibility and to take this job seriously.

Some Navajo narrators, when reflecting about traditional and Anglo education, suggest that both shared common goals. Begay (in Johnson 1977: 65) says both taught independence, self respect, the facts of life, and the need to get involved in order to learn. Martin (in Johnson 1977: 133) says that both systems kept children busy with chores and neither tolerated laziness or excuses. Several believed that disciplinary rules, characteristic of both traditions at that time, brought positive results. Without them in today's world, children have no manners; do not obey, listen to, respect, or learn from their elders; run wild; and have nothing to do but run around and get in trouble (in Johnson 1977, see Martin: 134,

Blatchford: 181, Blake: 202, Nelson: 214; and Hadley: 290; see also endnote 13).

IV. FINAL REMARKS

As we all know, in an essay in which the analyses are restricted to data from two sources, ideas are "preliminary" and "conclusions" totally unwarranted. However, even such a minimal data pool clearly demonstrates that the assessment of boarding school experiences is much more complicated as a research topic than first imagined. Since this is the case, those of us who undertake such assessments need to approach our work with heightened awareness and a critical reexamination of ourselves, our sources, and all the assumptions inherent therein. We need to acknowledge the existence of positive as well as negative outcomes, and to be willing to revise interpretations we planned to construct on the basis of earlier understandings. Likewise, we need to guard against facile comparisons and unwarranted assumptions about the importance of individual variables in these experiences, including gender. We also need to challenge simplistic interpretations of the significance and lasting reverberations of boarding school experiences in today's world, and monolithic generalizations about the agents, particulars, and extent of cultural destruction.

The issues identified by the voices in the two sources used in this essay indicate just how much work needs to be done if we are ever going to understand the range of diversity in Navajo boarding school experiences, let alone assess the significance of gender in these contexts. In the future, the data pool needs to be expanded

beyond these two sources. Similarities and differences among specific schools, including the mission schools, at specific time periods need to be studied using ethnohistorical documents as well as published personal narratives. In so doing, it will be important to identify whose voices are available to help with such reconstructions and to strive for gender balance in voices selected for inclusion. Additionally, it will be essential to relate the findings to the larger frame of endless flip-flops in federal policies concerned with Indian education and the explicit and implicit federal agendas behind them.

For example, what could be learned from the voices of teachers, superintendents, Navajo disciplinarians and matrons, other school employees, or any of the Navajo police recruiters who are still alive? Would these voices make it possible to investigate further any of the variables suggested in these two sources, such as the range of variation in individual philosophies of school superintendents or the selective enforcement of the compulsory education rules by those responsible for roundups?

Further interviewing also needs to be done with Navajos who are willing to reflect on and share memories of their boarding school experiences. The parallels between traditional childrearing practices and boarding school approaches to discipline identified in the two sources need further consideration and discussion. If, in fact, disciplinary measures were comparable at least through the 1930s, then perhaps the real issue is not the corporeal nature of the

punishments but instead, the "otherness," or "foreign outsider" identity of those administering the punishments in school contexts.

To explore even this one issue in more detail, both positive and negative memories of boarding school experiences need to be elicited. To do so challenges decades of silence but also heightens the ethical concerns connected with interviewing, since the topic itself potentially increases risk and harm for participants. To recall, reflect on, and relate the "dark side" of boarding school experiences may prove painful; thus, some may refuse such conversations, choosing continued silence, or terminate them midstream, as repressed pain surfaces. If individuals do voluntarily enter into dialogues about their experiences, empathy, sensitivity, and a total commitment to human rights and professional codes of ethics on the part of interviewers will be paramount given the potential reactivation of unresolved, unhealed feelings of bitterness and resentment. Yes, such dialogues are academically necessary to determine if, and how, such memories get reassessed, reinterpreted, and perhaps more balanced with age and increased life experience. But while this is an important research question, I personally do not define "ethical researcher behavior" to include actions that potentially contribute to the perpetuation of suffering, on mental or other planes.

Besides this difficult question, other issues connected with boarding school experiences also need to be addressed. For example, when interpreting any future interviews and dialogues, careful attention needs to be given to how narrations are affected by selective memories, audiences, personal contexts, and relationships between narrators and listeners. Some of these concerns were

identified during the seminar; most of them are also discussed in the published literature of many disciplines and thus, from a variety of perspectives.

Once such research is undertaken, it should be possible to address many of the questions about boarding school experiences that emerged during the 1996 Newberry Library's seminar on the "Construction of Gender and the Experiences of Women in American Indian Societies," especially from understandings of diverse Navajo experiences and perspectives. My hope is that this essay will serve as a catalyst, a beginning. The questions we have raised are complex; the work that needs to be done in the course of searching for answers will, of necessity, be serious if not painful, long-term, challenging, multidisciplinary, and collaborative.

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Endnotes

1. I continue to ponder this in particular, being well aware of the role of strictness and punishment, perhaps even "abuse" and "exploitation" by today's standards, in traditional Navajo upbringing reported by generations who were children at the end of the 19th and start of the 20th centuries. This question is discussed near the end of this essay, in conjunction with data available in the two sources I am examining herein.
2. See Mitchell (1978: 256-257) for the 1937-38 Tribal Council discussions on the need for local day schools and the June, 1937 trip to Washington, DC to make this and other requests.
3. The Fort Defiance agent reported in the 1898-99 period that "Navajo enthusiasm for wagons was a major factor in increasing school enrollments" and that he was dispensing wagons, axes, hoes, utensils, and other items to those who enrolled children in school (Mitchell 1978: 161).
4. It is important to remember that parents were required to provide transportation, and thus children were accompanied on their trips to school which were made either on horseback with them riding their own animal or double, behind a relative, or in a wagon. Mothers accompanied them as did fathers and siblings, in some cases. Other relatives and parents might also be along, traveling and camping together along the way. If students were going in a group rounded up by recruiters, then a policeman and a male chaperone or two would accompany them, as well as local headmen. Transportation for those trips was provided in a wagon or wagon caravan (Mitchell 1978: 58, 73-74), or one or more model T cars (see Denetsosie: 80 and Blatchford: 174 in Johnson 1977). On return trips, someone would bring a horse for the student to ride home (Mitchell 1978: 67). Some schools sponsored feast days, where parents were invited to come in wagons or on horseback at the term's end to enjoy foot and horse races, chicken pulls, wrestling, pole climbing, and food when picking up children. Some also sponsored a day of outdoor entertainment and feasting in the fall, when it was time for adults to return the children. Other assistance came from specific missions which provided shelter for parents and animals, and women who lived en route and prepared meals along the way for the caravans of children being taken to boarding school by recruiters (Mitchell 1978: 58-61, 104).
5. Van Valkenburg (1941: 8) says Beautiful Mountain was the home of "medicine man Hastin Bizhoshi" and fellow rebels who defied Agent W. T. Shelton at Shiprock in 1915 in his prosecution of polygamous marriages. Troops were called in, and after negotiations, the men surrendered and were jailed in Gallup

for awhile. Kluckhohn and Leighton (1946: 101), referring to Beautiful Mountain, cite the same reason as Van Valkenburg, thus not linking this incident with an agent's attempt to enforce compulsory education as do Clani and Ration. However, it is possible that the latter were referring to an earlier incident, probably around 1907, mentioned by Lansing (in Johnson 1977: 107-108) that involved Bai-a-lil-le, headmen, Navajo police, and Agent Shelton and did include trouble because of compulsory education (see Correll 1970: 10, ff. and Dyk 1947: 121-125, as well as Lansing).

6. However, neither dates the event nor is it possible to reconstruct the chronology, since neither the birthdates nor the dates of the interviews with these contributors are given in Johnson (1977). It is clear from the text, though, that it occurred before the 1918 influenza epidemic.
7. In Denetsosie's case (Johnson 1977: 80), even though his grandmother said he was too small and objected, his father prevailed.
8. Mitchell (1978: 57) was taken to Fort Defiance early in 1894, when recruiters came around after Christmas in 1893, again enrolling children. It appears that he spent about a year and one half total at Fort Defiance, with the half being in 1894, and the year being in 1903-04, when his older brother, Tom, also went (Mitchell 1978: 73-74).
9. Iverson (1981:13, 16) summarizes data from both Mitchell and Hanley cited here as follows: "One Navajo storyteller said that the Navajo of those days would not send the bright children to school, only the orphans and slaves: 'They placed in school the children over whom no one would weep in case something might happen to them.' Rather than the best and the brightest, 'those who don't have homes and just roam around, the ones who are not well-mannered--they are the ones who are put in school.' Parents and other relatives needed the children to herd the livestock and help out at home. They resisted, sometimes politely and sometimes violently."
10. See Mitchell (1978: 62, 63, 74n.8) and Cadman (in Johnson 1977: 210) for information on the daily round at Fort Defiance, and Denetsosie (in Johnson 1977: 83-84, 90, 92-94) for similar data on Tuba City and Leupp.
11. Mitchell lost his daughter, Pauline, at age 8, in 1926 while she was at the Chinle Boarding School because of something he called "probably pneumonia and measles" (1978: 142). Another, older daughter, "Mary #2," died in 1931 around the age of 21, four or five days after being brought home unconscious from the Albuquerque Indian School (to which she had transferred two years

earlier from Haskell)). Whether her condition was caused by something she "smoked" while on a summer outing job or not will remain forever unknown. Because the school sent no notification of her illness and critical condition, Frank took action after her death, sent a letter to Reuben Perry (then Superintendent of the Albuquerque School) for himself and other concerned parents in the community. On 3/9/1931 Mitchell met with Perry and John Hunter (Superintendent of the Southern Navajo Agency) to express parental displeasures about lack of notification to parents when children got sick, left school, and so forth (Mitchell 1978: 257, 283, 303-304n.3).

12. Only one narrator (Hadley: 291-298 in Johnson 1977) in these two sources mentions readjustment problems when he returned to his home community in the 1920s and was the only English speaker in Tuba City. This spurred him to form groups of other graduates in other towns who could meet and discuss things.
13. However, it is important to remember that some of the contributors to Johnson (1977), such as Martin (134), Blatchford (181), Clani (244), Bogoutin (282), and Hadley (290), on the basis of hindsight, see the military atmosphere as the right way, the only way to learn, since it made them learn. This is always said in comparison to today's students who are bossy, never obey, never work, never do what they're told, don't respect their elders, don't help, don't know their culture, run wild, and cause trouble in their families and communities.
14. The sources include variable amounts of data on the uniforms for boys and girls at Fort Defiance (Mitchell 1978: 58 and Cadman in Johnson 1977: 210), Fort Apache (Begay and Nelson in Johnson 1977: 65, 232-233), Tuba City (Denetsosie and Kansaswood in Johnson 1977: 92, 278), as well as single references, all in Johnson (1977), to clothing at Leupp (Denetsosie: 82), Fort Lewis (Martin: 130), Rehoboth (Blatchford: 175), and Shiprock (Clani: 244). Among the punishments noted in Johnson 1977 (Blake: 204, Nelson: 240) is that involving cross-dressing, where both girls and boys were forced to wear the uniform of the opposite sex and to eat with the opposite sex for a specified period of time (see the illustration in Blake: 205). As Mitchell (1978: 56) notes, children were sent to school in what parents provided, and many were dirty and owned few clothes.
15. While both boys and girls had "outing" experiences during the summer, girls worked as domestics in towns and cities near the schools while boys worked as fieldhands locally and elsewhere. See Begay and Martin (in Johnson 1977: 65, 131) for summer domestic work on outing from Fort Lewis and Fort Apache, and Nelson (Ibid.: 234, 238) for summer work in the Fort Apache school fields as well as in Kansas City sugar beet fields while at Fort Wingate.

16. However, Mitchell (1978: 56) says that parents [in the early days] told children being sent to school, especially boys in their teens or past that age, "If any of those white people try to punish you, beat you or mistreat you, you just get a knife and stab them; cut their bellies open."
17. In Johnson (1977), birthdates are not given for 7 of the 22 contributors.

Nahookos Bika, Nahookos Bi'aad Doo Biko Binanitin
Gender Construction
In Accordance With Dine Holarchical Cosmology

By
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Traditional tribal societies have used metaphysical cosmologies as a way of life for countless generations. Indigenous world views provide cultural and spiritual epistemologies including definition and delineation of the specific roles and interrelationships of male and female aspects of all living beings within a holistic paradigm. This traditional perspective encompasses all inanimate and animate entities, including celestial energies, plants, animals and human life.

Although tribal societies share numerous philosophical and metaphysical commonalties, nevertheless each uniquely rooted culturally, linguistically and spiritually in a specific geophysical and celestial environment. This paper will concentrate on Dine cosmology, as centered from within the Four Sacred Mountains of the Four Corners area of American Southwest. We have chosen to focus on Dine metaphysics as traditionally expressed through celestial male and female constellations. The natural order from the celestial movements, as conceptualized by traditional Dine, will provide the organizational structure necessary to discuss fundamental issues of gender construction.

Although a great amount of scholarly research has been conducted on the Navajo Reservation, the majority of that research has been eurocentric, Eurocentrism conducted. Most of this research contains

inherent limitations. The research methodology was conducted from the outside looking in. In addition there were wide variations in interpretation primarily due to the researchers' unique religious, educational, social, and political self interests. Consequently much of their research failed to articulate adequately the complexity of Navajo metaphysics.

This may be due in large part to the Cartesian bias and reductionism of the English language which does not easily translate into a holistic Dine epistemology, which is conceived on the basis of intrinsic relationships. The English language is noun based and cannot easily deal with a cosmology based on motion and process, which forms the basis of Navajo ontology and epistemology. Paradoxically the closest that English has come to a language that can discuss Navajo metaphysical interrelationships lies in the field of western science, the sub-atomic level of quantum physics.

It may be important to point out that it was not until recently that many Dine received college and graduate educations. For some this education provided the linguistic tools to articulate in English the complex metaphysical concepts underlying a way of life. A generation from now the ceremonial and cultural knowledge may well not exist.

Many middle aged, western educated Navajo people today come from traditional homes with parents who had no formal education in English. Their own children are primarily English speakers, with less knowledge of traditional culture. Although many of these parents have attempted to educate their children in traditional ways,

the children have become basically western thinkers. Or they may have been caught between the two paradigms in an either/or modality rather than both/and. At the same time, many ceremonies are becoming extinct as the elder practitioners are passing away and with few young people willing to put in the time and effort to learn the ceremonies. Although some young people may aspire to learn the ceremonies, often there is no opportunity for them to do so within the family structure.

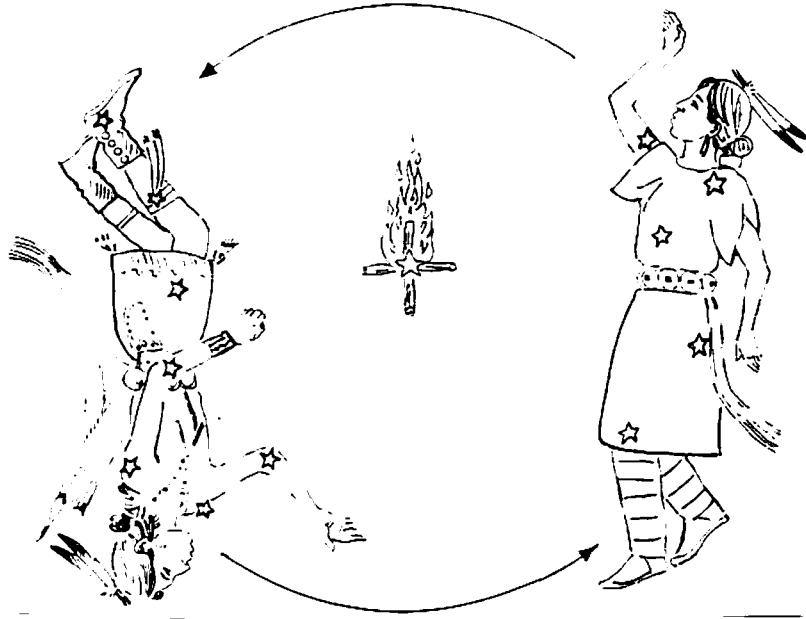
Dine cosmology is rooted in and articulated through the ancient ceremonial language. Few people today carry the deeper knowledge of this ceremonial language and its meaning. At one time this was not only a ceremonial language, it was an intrinsic part of the everyday language and life. According to knowledgeable elders, the ceremonial language was holistically embedded in, and expressed through, every thought and activity.

In this paper the authors will attempt to provide a tribal (or inside) perspective on male and female gender construction, using traditional Dine thinking, teachings and principles, based on the traditional language.

Within tribal societies, so much acculturation and assimilation has occurred that many of the same concerns and problems facing EuroAmerican people are currently being experienced at the tribal level. This EuroAmerican phenomenon includes questions concerning gender and issues surrounding male-female equality: feminism, male bonding, the New Male Manifesto, women's' rights, domestic violence, sexual harassment, and others. These current issues have created

conflicting interests: a war between the sexes, as some might say. Often these feminist or male oriented discussions of gender have conflicted with traditional teachings.

MALE AND FEMALE REVOLVING CONSTELLATIONS WITH CENTRAL FIRE

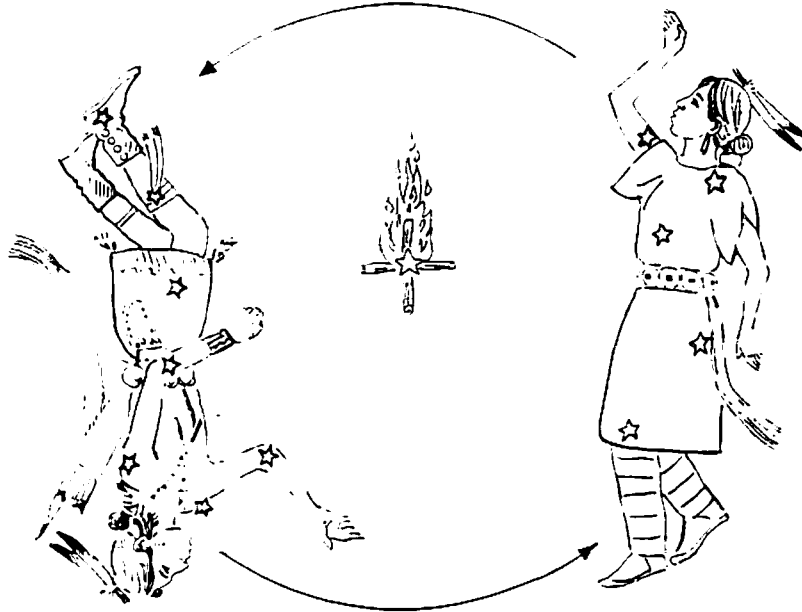


(Although it may seem like Nohookos Bika is upside down, in reality the two Nohookos constellations are continuously revolving around the central fire.)

We have chosen to examine traditional gender construction by means of fundamental values inherent in Dine cosmology through cultural teachings, which have been a way of life for centuries and continue today. The traditional teachings will provide a holistic, foundational framework with which to explicate the complex issues associated with gender construction. We will use Nahookos Bika, the Male Revolving One (the Big Dipper), Nahookos Bi'aad, the Female Revolving One (Cassiopeia) and Nahookos Biko, the Central Fire (North Star or Polaris) of Dine cosmology. This paradigm model will

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MALE AND FEMALE REVOLVING CONSTELLATIONS WITH CENTRAL FIRE



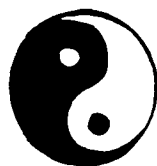
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provide the order necessary to discuss the two sexes in terms of polarity and dynamic balance through interrelationship.

Paradigms and mandalas similar to those of the Dine can be found around the world, in numerous historical and contemporary cultures. The ancient Tao developed a philosophy expressed through the symbol of the yin yang complementarities. Within the yang (male force), there is a yin. Within the yin (female force), there is a yang. Together they form a uniform complementarity, a holistic symbol of balance. The symbol is expressed through a black and white circular swirl design, with a small seed of the opposite color in each half.

YIN YANG SYMBOL



Other Asian cultures have expressed similar philosophical complementarities through holistic symbols, including the Hindus and Tibetan Buddhists. Many native people in the Americas have used similar mandalas, such as the Medicine Wheel, to express like concepts of wholeness and balance.

Coming out of a European scientific tradition of psychoanalysis, Carl Jung describes strikingly similar conceptions involving the archetype of the anima and animus. According to Jungian philosophy, there is a male within every female and correspondingly there is a female within every male.

Navajo tradition speaks of the same concepts. There are many ways we could have chosen to analyze male and female relationships,

provide the order necessary to discuss the two sexes in terms of polarity and dynamic balance through interrelationship.

Paradigms and mandalas similar to those of the Dine can be found around the world, in numerous historical and contemporary cultures. The ancient Tao developed a philosophy expressed through the symbol of the yin yang complementarities. Within the yang (male force), there is a yin. Within the yin (female force), there is a yang. Together they form a uniform complementarity, a holistic symbol of balance. The symbol is expressed through a black and white circular swirl design, with a small seed of the opposite color in each half.

YIN YANG SYMBOL



Other Asian cultures have expressed similar philosophical complementarities through holistic symbols, including the Hindus and Tibetan Buddhists. Many native people in the Americas have used similar mandalas, such as the Medicine Wheel, to express like concepts of wholeness and balance.

Coming out of a European scientific tradition of psychoanalysis, Carl Jung describes strikingly similar conceptions involving the archetype of the anima and animus. According to Jungian philosophy, there is a male within every female and correspondingly there is a female within every male.

Navajo tradition speaks of the same concepts. There are many ways we could have chosen to analyze male and female relationships,

but we chose to use the complementary pairs of the male and female revolving star constellations of the Dine. Traditionally these cosmic processes are immutable, unchanging, and not subject to the whims of politically correct change and its historical antecedents.

In order to develop a constructive analysis of gender polarities, it is helpful to examine the original Navajo terminology and the structural order and process inherent within key fundamental terms. These terms come from song, ceremony, and in some cases from old ethnographic writings. Due to the deep metaphysical significance and variable meanings of these key terms, we have often had to decipher writings constructed with old orthographies, transposing them into contemporary Navajo orthography. Moreover, we have had to translate the orthographic symbols into sounds and then decipher these sounds. This then provides the ceremonial meaning.

From the ceremonial terminology, which at present, very few people know well, come further layers of translation, the literal and the free, leading finally to a translation that can be understood today. This complex linguistic process involves both English and Navajo and is fraught with difficulties. Often it is extremely difficult to transpose meaning from a holistic, verb based indigenous language based on unity and interrelationship of all things, to the reductionistic, noun based, English language which is largely based on fragmentation and objectivity.

Many anthropological and ethnographical researchers have come to the Navajo Reservation. They have often relied heavily on published accounts of earlier missionaries and anthropologists, most

particularly those of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as those by Dr. Washington Matthews and Father Berard Haile. There is undoubtedly much richness in these early writings, coming from Navajo informants who are long gone. However many of the early ethnographers wrote from their own perspectives which do not adequately reflect the Dine world view.

For example, early missionary-ethnographers learned the Navajo language and recorded ceremonies, but their ultimate goal was to explore and utilize Navajo philosophy as a vehicle for Catholic conversions. The various forms of anthropological, Eurocentristic or ecclesiastical self interest provide a primary reason for the need of a retranslation of key concepts in accordance with the Navajo cultural world view.

Probably the most central and seminal concept in Navajo cosmology is expressed through the term Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoo, (herein referred to as SNBH) which provides the cultural essence and ideological matrix that binds the human with all cosmic forces and energy. Implicit in Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoo is the cosmic male - female complementary, expressed as Sa'ah Naaghai (male force) and Bik'eh Hozhoo (female force). Where the two polarities come together, there is a central dynamic balance where equilibrium and harmony are continuously germinated. Navajos refer to this vital life-giving process as As'aa Naaghai.

The relationship between the two polarities provides the manifestation of dynamic balance. One cannot exist without the other. They depend on one another through interrelationship, much

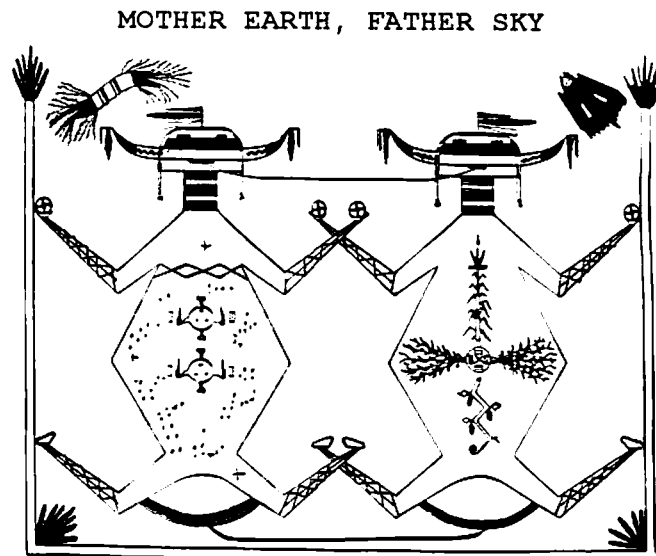
the same as electromagnetic forces require both positive and negative charges. Another way to describe the interdependent relationship is through the human walking process, implied in the term Naaghai. One has to be able to use a left leg and a right leg simultaneously in order to create and maintain the necessary central balance naturally inherent in the walking process. This balancing of opposites is a dynamic gift of life.

Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoo thus provides the organizational matrix through which cultural coherence exists. The ancient Dine governmental organization, Naachid, which has been described as spiritual as well as political, provided leadership through hashke nahat'a, warrior and protector (male characteristics) and hozhooji nahat'a, peace and nurturing, (female characteristics). These leaders met in a circular hogan, with an equal number of warrior leaders sitting on one side and peace leaders on the other side. There was a balance of representation between the two groups. It can be said that traditionally this provided the governmental structure for the Dine.

Similar male and female polarities exist throughout the entire Navajo way of life. Traditional ceremonies contain components of male and female attributes. Naat'oh Bi'kaji Hataal (loosely glossed as Male Shootingway) and Naat'oh Bi'aadji Hataal (glossed as Female Shootingway) are two well known examples of such ceremonies.

Nihosdzaan (Ground Woman or Mother Earth) and Yadihlil (Upper Darkness or Father Sky) provide a cosmic male and female complementary. The illustration shown below represents Mother Earth

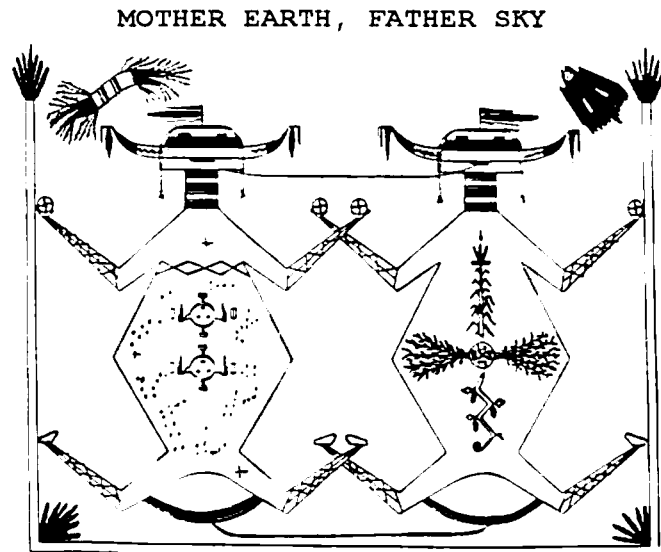
and Father Sky as they have been depicted in Navajo ceremonialism. The figure on the right is Mother Earth shown with the four main plants. The figure on the left is Father Sky shown with the sun, the moon and the primary star constellations. Their intrinsic interrelationship is depicted in the illustration. A seed of Mother Earth is a part of Father Sky and a seed of Father Sky is a part of Mother Earth.



Within Father Sky, there are six pairs of primary star constellations, each pair coupled as Sa'ah Naaghai, Bik'eh Hozhoo, (male and female). We have chosen to focus on one of these pairs in order to articulate the importance of complementary and balance inherent in male and female relationships.

This does not mean that we are advocating a simple dualistic perspective. The full utilization of SNBH is within a multi-dimensional construct of cosmic, four directional holarchical alignment and process. The relationship is cyclical, holistic and relative. It may be noteworthy to emphasize here that the processes

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inherent in the directional alignment are not randomly determined, they are conceptually grounded and organized in cosmic realities.

More important than assigning gender specific characteristics to negative (female) and male (positive) cosmic forces and energies, is to examine them holistically in terms of polar complementarity and dynamic balance (as'aa naaghai). Negative force is an essential component. It does not necessarily mean bad or evil, in a dualistic sense. The negative has to co-exist with the positive in order to provide the dynamic balance inherent in all life. This is where traditional holistic teachings of gender attributes illuminate male and female roles in Navajo society.

Traditional gender teachings of the male-ness and female-ness inherent in SNBH are not based solely on the physical features that have often been used to define gender in the western context. There is a much broader conceptualization in traditional thinking, which includes concepts of the human growth and development of each sex, as well as husband, wife and parental relationships, with specific roles attributed to each. Additionally there is a male component within every female and, conversely, there is a female component in every male. This is strikingly similar to what Jungian psychology describes as archetypal animus-anima, as well as the yin and yang of eastern philosophies. This universal construct can be articulated through the ancient Dine teachings of the male and female dipper.

One of the central questions facing western philosophers today involves the nature of human consciousness and its relationship to the cosmos. For Navajo, in accordance with other indigenous people,

the nature of human consciousness and the relationship with nature, is one. This is largely articulated through the traditional language and cultural intuition. Most tribal languages are subjective and relational. In fact it would be hard to find a traditional Navajo elder who thought in a subject-object dichotomy. Most elders would find no separation between their mind and the cosmos.

Ethnographers and anthropologists who have studied Navajo cosmology have generally characterized it as anthropomorphic. This is a Eurocentric distortion of Navajo cosmology. One example of Dine consciousness is when Navajos sing Mother Earth's feet are my feet, Mother Earth's body is my body, Mother Earth's speech is my speech. This is not mere metaphor. They are really singing their intrinsic connected relationship with nature. The natural interrelationship is what provides their body, their mind, their human speech. These relationships are usually sung in a ceremonial setting, and become increasingly complex as the ceremonies themselves become further elaborate through the five night and nine night ceremonies.

These relationships include all the celestial bodies of the universe. Cosmic order emanates through Navajo ceremonial singing. This order is provided through the Navajo concept *Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoo* which expresses male and female attributes. Star constellations are sung in male and female pairs, such as *Nahookos Bika* and *Nahookos Bi'aad*, the male and female revolving pair.

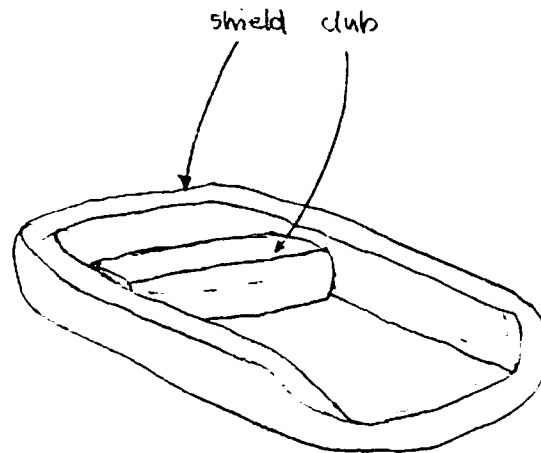
Principles inherent in the paired constellation provide intrinsic male and female teachings. *Nahookos Bika* is a male warrior, a leader, who protects his people. He is sympathetic and

charismatic, a provider for his family. He is a medicine man who is always available to his people. He provides physical and spiritual protection through the use of a bow and arrow. His counterpart, Nahookos Bi'aad, exemplifies motherhood and regeneration. Where the male provides warrior protection, the female provides the stability and strength necessary for harmony. The principle through which she provides protection is inherent within SNBH.

The grinding stone (tse dash jee) can be used in order to illustrate the importance of male - female complementarity. In Navajo life where the male uses the bow and arrow, the female uses the grinding stone as protection for her family. With the grinding stone, she can always keep her family from starving. In addition the teachings of the grinding stone include ways to keep healthy, through the preparation and eating of proper foods.

Although the grinding stone is primarily used by the female for food preparation, the larger grinding stone (metate) represents a woman's shield (naageed), similar to the male warrior's war shield. The smaller hand held stone (mano) represents a club, or chamajilla (halth). Ceremonially, its purpose is to combat hunger and imperfections of life. Thus within the grinding stone there are both male and female forces or energies. The role of the woman is similar to that of a medicine man, providing a healing or balance of life, except that she achieves her purpose through the home. What she is trying to achieve is similar to that of a medicine man using a bow and arrow, although in a culturally determined sense, her means may differ.

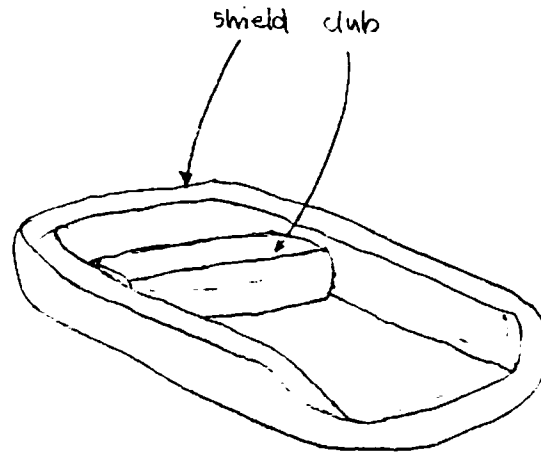
GRINDING STONE



What binds the celestial pair together is the central fire, of *Nahookos Biko*, the North Star. Although they are referred to here as three separate constellate bodies, traditional thinking unites them into one unified whole. The celestial pair revolve around their home fire, *Nahookos Biko*. The fire provides central guidance and direction for all other stars in the sky. The North Star never moves and is thus a fixed reference point. *Nahookos Biko* is a central fire much like the hearth fire of one's home. It provides life giving warmth, protection, comfort and harmony.

Traditionally the fire was considered to be very sacred. One did not throw any trash into the fire. There was a proper time and procedure with which to take out the ash. Everything about the fire was kept clean and in order. The ashes too were sacred and were not just dumped anywhere. The fire poker (*honeshgish*) was ceremonially made and provided protection.

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The fire is iina bee yist'a, the central light and eternal fire that bring stability to life's essence. The central celestial body is connected to the home, binding the upper heavenly body (Father Sky) to the earth (Mother Earth). In essence the North Star, in conjunction with the central fire of the home, provides fundamental underlying principles that provide the balance necessary for a healthy life.

The fire becomes one's central protector as a shield, ko naageed. It deflects all imperfections and dangers of life. The fire simultaneously provides the harmony of life. An analogy can be made with the National Guard. It is there for protection and that protection simultaneously provides peace and security.

This fire also figures into the cultural evolution of life which is discussed through the sacred narratives of the central emergence of the Dine people. This fire is referred to as Hajiinei Ko, the Emergence Fire, one whole containing two related parts. It is referred to as a male and female fire, Sa'ah Naaghai Ko and Bik'eh Hozhoo Ko. These terms imply an ancient relationship, shi cho, of grandfather and grandmother, male and female, both historically and ceremonially.

In this way, the teachings of the central fire, Nohookos Biko, provide principles and values that are fundamental to a comprehensive understanding of dynamic balance, harmony and male-female complementarity.

Earlier we mentioned that SNBH is cyclical, holistic and relative. Although Sa'ah Naaghai (male) comes first, followed by

Bik'eh Hozhoo (female), they form one complete whole. This is inherent in the cyclical movement of Nahookos Bika and Nahookos Bi'aad. Navajos refer to this cyclical process as alkee na'ash'ii, one that constantly follows the other, unending and eternally. This is cosmic in scope, including cyclical phenomena such as night and day, winter and summer. It does not mean one is dominant over the other. Rather these male and female energies rely on one another, providing the harmony and dynamic balance that is naturally generated by the relationship. This is what is meant by living in accordance with natural cosmic law. Cultural and spiritual ways of living, including male and female roles, emanate from this cosmic law, illustrated through the movement and light of Nahookos Bika and Nahookos Bi'aad.

An awareness and comprehension of the unending cyclical process contributes to the verb (motion) base of Navajo language. Many of these principles are extremely difficult to articulate in English, which is largely based on nouns. English is thus extremely limited when speaking in terms of motion, process and relationship. Navajos say their language is sacred. The sacredness comes through the relationship with natural cosmic forces.

The central fire of Nahookos Biko, the North Star, was anciently placed. Traditional teachings say the central fire was placed at the time of the Emergence. It became an all encompassing life force, inherent in the cultural and spiritual essence of the people. The central fire thus became the human consciousness, and through that consciousness came the ordered articulation of complex concepts. The

teachings of SNBH inherent in the human consciousness provided the organization of speech. Dine language was the tool used to articulate the intuitive interrelated connections and the language itself reflected the structural organization of the intrinsic knowledge. Those Dine who had the mind and skill to articulate the knowledge became nataani, leaders. This articulation provided a spiritual charisma which enabled men to become leaders, through their speech. This charisma was implicit in the teachings of Nahookos Bika.

There are many other teachings and principles associated with the Revolving Male and Female stars. Nohookos Bika and Nohookos Bi'aad are not confined to one static age. Their principles are multi-leveled and have widespread comprehensive application to all ages. There is a male baby and a female baby in a continuum of ages reaching through grandmother and grandfather. All stages of human development are represented in the Nahookos constellation teachings.

Up to this point we have been speaking in terms of philosophy, but the same principles and values can be expressed through mythology. Both philosophy and mythology emanate from the same natural cosmic forces that are articulated through Navajo story and song. In Navajo ceremonialism, the story is the song and the song is the story.

Although there are many areas of Navajo mythology from which we could talk about gender, we have chosen to focus on the separation of the sexes that occurred in the Third World, because it continues to be a controversial area in Navajo oral history. Even though these

are ancient stories, they continue to have contemporary impact and application. Many current societal problems can be positively addressed through ceremonial and secular recitation of these sacred oral narratives.

According to Dine tradition there was a period of separation of the sexes that occurred during what Navajos refer to as the Third World or Yellow-Orange World. A disagreement arose between First Man and First Woman, primarily over misunderstood motives stemming from a differentiation between male and female thinking. Issues of domination and female subjugation were integral to the conflict. These misunderstandings led to a separation of the sexes, which has been expressed both physically and spiritually. The women and men separated to opposite sides of a river. The river became a physical and spiritual demarcation of separation.

During the four or so years of separation, the men fared much better than the women. Men were very industrious, planting and tending their fields. They were assisted by hermaphrodites who performed many of the chores traditionally done by women. According to Navajo tradition, the true hermaphrodite contained equal aspects of male and female qualities. Thus the man's side of the river had people that were able to fulfill the roles and obligations of both male and female, and consequently they fared better than the women on the other side.

The women began industriously enough, planting and cultivating their fields. But as the years wore on, they grew less attentive to them, spending more energies on gossip and gambling. It is said that they bore monster children. Soon the women were in a pitiful

condition, practically starving, and they asked the men for reunification. Both sides agreed to reunite in order to bring stability, regeneration and healthy growth back to the people. Subsequent stories led to the birth of Changing Women, Asdzaan Nadleehe and the birth of her twin sons, Monster Slayer, Naayei Neezghani (male) and Born for Water, Tobajishchini (female) who eventually slew the monsters, making the world safe again for human beings.

The role of woman, here exemplified by Changing Woman, is of primary importance. Changing Woman is the seed of the regeneration of the Dine world. Many other tribal societies acknowledge and honor women in a similar way. Among the Lakota, there are stories that tell of White Buffalo Calf Woman bringing the sacred pipe to the people. Similarly, among the River People of the Yakama Reservation, stories tell of a woman who reaffirmed appreciation for all life, at the same time restrengthening traditional beliefs that were on the verge of being lost.

In all these stories, it is significant that a woman brings back the spiritual reverence for life. Moreover, the stories provide a foundation for many ceremonies. The Blessingway ceremony, which has been referred to as the core or backbone of Navajo ceremonialism, is just one example. Blessingway is largely associated with Changing Woman through the seed and ongoing fruition of all life.

Although it may seem that the Dine story of the separation of the sexes is told from the male point of view, in reality it exemplifies the holistic teachings implicit in SNBH. Both the male

and female aspects are necessary to provide a balanced and healthy growth of life. The story really deals with intrinsic relationships. It is not a simple dualistic war-between- the-sexes. The flux of relationships is expressed by causality within causality, thus providing a continuum of complexity. A recognition and acknowledgment of the essential co-existence and inevitable interdependency of the male and female relationship is arguably the crux of the teaching.

The teachings associated with this story are many; most are revealed through the totality of the story. There seems to be a balance and teaching built into these stories. An analysis of a fragmentation of the story can be misleading, even damaging at certain levels. On several levels the story is simple, however a wider perspective illustrates the complexity of the subject. This is especially apparent when the teachings are applied to address contemporary societal situations. It is at this level that the complexities of the stories, told in the traditional language, provide spiritual nourishment and healing when they are used in a proper and meaningful way.

An illustration of the complexities contained within the traditional language in respect to gender can be seen through a brief examination of the concepts *shima* and *nihosdzaan*, often glossed as mother and Mother Earth. Many traditional societies have used gender attributes to relate to their environment. Navajos have used the term *Nihosdzaan Shima*, literally translated as Ground Woman. *Dzil Asdzaan* is used to refer to Mountain Woman. To *Asdzaan* refers to Water Woman. The English translations come out flat, lacking the complex

and holistic interrelationships implicit within the Navajo phrasing.

The human relationship to earth is a very important feature in these concepts. The relationship is personal, containing historical, moral and kinship facets. This relationship can be expressed through Navajo kinship terms on many levels. Translating these concepts can be difficult, as seen for example in the use of the term Nihosdzaan Shima which would most literally be translated as ground-woman-mother.

In Navajo, this term is replete with emotion, a myriad of interconnections, and complex kinship relationships, all intrinsic to the meaning of the words. In English Nihosdzaan Shima is rendered as Mother Earth or Ground Woman. These literal translations do not even begin to hint at the complex emotional-laden oneness of oneself with the earth, implicit in the Navajo terminology. To a great extent, the English language decontextualizes and marginalizes the original intention. In fact, literal translation and use of terms such as Ground Woman and Mountain Woman, has popped the once understood and grounded entities into the more abstract world of mythology and obfuscated mysticism.

The English language seldom allows for a feminine personification of a geographic feature, except in rare case such as the term "Mother Earth." English language emphasizes a neutral gendered dissociative process whereby the speaker is disconnected from the action (verb) as well as from the object (direct object). Navajo language, on the other hand, is so intrinsically interconnected with the speaker, verb and object, that what would

take an entire sentence, in English, can often be described in one or two words in the Navajo language.

Implicit in the terms *Nihosdzaan Shima*, *Dzil Asdzaan*, and *To Asdzaan*, is the concept mother. *Shima* means my mother. *Shi* is a possessive pronoun of the first person, singular, (my, mine) as well as a noun, (me or I), and expresses a close personal relationship. In Navajo the two uses are intrinsically connected, something that English does not often do. *Ma* (mother) acknowledges one's ancient roots, one's connection through a footpath of growth to all one's ancestors, spiritually, emotionally and biologically. Putting *shi* and *ma* together, in a binding process, creates a complex quasi-magnetic relationship, through which one expresses one's intrinsic essence.

Shima implies many other interrelationships. These include cycles of renewal, expressed through fertilization, birth and growth, to name but a few. The use of *shima* connotes a mother-infant relationship to *Nihosdzaan* (Mother Earth). Also implicit in this phrase is the awareness of a beautiful loving feeling that establishes a natural relationship between a mother and an infant. Westerners use the word mother in various ways. Mother is usually limited to a biological relationship. *Shima* is used in a much larger context by Navajos to refer to many other things, both human and non-human, always involving a growth process. In Navajo, *shima* is a highly honored term, implying respect while connoting a sacred relationship.

The concepts of women and mother as understood by EuroAmericans are somewhat different. All women are not mothers. Motherhood is not always honored, especially by younger generations. The word "mother" has often been taken in vain, abused and profaned. This devalues the dignity and integrity of the relationship. Moreover, even the natural cycle of fertilization and the physical effects of pregnancy are often considered undesirable in the western cultures. This is evident among today's younger generations with the mass media's hyper emphasis on attributes of youth, beauty and slimness.

Contemporary societal problems related to gender equality and non-equality are of major concern, not only outside tribal cultures but within them as well. This is due in large part to the tremendous assimilation that has occurred on the Navajo Reservation over the past fifty years. Earlier there was a federal policy of forced assimilation. Later this was modified to a less forced acculturation. Today, however, there is a more voluntary approach to acculturation, initiated in many cases by Navajos themselves. As the influential influx of EuroAmerican values accelerates, accompanied by the increased impact of the English language and western technology, the indigenous ontology, epistemology and teleology are undergoing profound change.

Elements of western culture that have had major impact on Navajo life include the various forms of Christianity, the dualistic Cartesian based education system, the competitive capitalistic wage-based economy, the advent of a highly technological computerized network infrastructure, the bipartisan political system, and the

social structure of the nuclear biological family which to a large extent is taking the place of the extended family structure.

Despite the overwhelming profusion of rhetorical pronouncements, there is no real structure in place to address the confusions that accompany the influx of these western elements. Rhetoric and superficial critiques are not enough. According to Carol Dawn, psychology professor and licensed counselor at Navajo Community College, "the major underlying problem of Navajo women today is an over abundance of lip service to traditional teachings with no real correlation to real life, no action. Really women's roles are not equal with men's."

Today on the Navajo Nation, many Dine say that an extreme confusion exists because of the lack of adequate education. No clear delineation is being made between the traditional and western epistemology. No clarity is being provided in places where fine lines could be articulated through traditional means. Adequate skills are not being developed. In general there is a hit or miss mentality pervading the system.

This is particularly relevant to any discussion of gender mobility in reference to traditional and contemporary western values. There are slight differences between the experiences of both men and women but nevertheless they share commonalties and concerns through their birth into a system that is becoming increasingly based on patriarchal dominance. Although anthropologists and social workers have endeavored to discuss these issues, neither Navajos nor non-

Navajos have performed enough substantial applied research to address the origins and consequences of the underlying societal problems.

As individuals move from the traditional tribal values through the EuroAmerican based education, economic and social systems, they search for their designated rung on the western based gender ladder. As a general rule, men fare better at climbing this ladder. Most women encounter a glass ceiling below the ladder's top. Women, commonly referred to in some circles as wombs on two legs, often have a difficult time getting one foot above the other on the gender ladder.

At the same time that men and women are entering the western economic system, their traditional roles are becoming obscured, and in some cases diminished. Countless Navajo women have retained their traditional family oriented roles, but many have had to add the role of family provider. In some ways it is more difficult for men to find wage earning jobs, except for those who received higher education and found jobs in the western context.

This is not unique to the Navajo Nation. Unemployment is extremely high on almost all Indian Reservations. Currently there is a real scarcity of jobs available for men on the reservations although historically as well as today there are lower paying jobs available for women, such as waitress, motel maid, teacher aide, secretary or store clerk. Today, traditional roles are blurring and comprehensive answers are difficult to conceive.

Many problems in contemporary tribal societies are similar to those experienced by the dominant society. However, significant differences exist due to the nature of indigenous cultural values.

Of primary importance is the dominance of the patriarchal epistemology as foundation of modern EuroAmerican culture. In contrast, Navajo culture is founded on a matriarchal system where women traditionally owned the home and livestock. Children are descended through the mother's lineage, in complex clan relationships. Fathers are referred to as *bajishchiin* (born for) in which one is born for the father's clan.

In this traditional system children were not necessarily considered illegitimate, in the western sense of lacking a legal father. Property was passed down through the women's side, providing a sense of place (*hakeyah*) and security to the female members. As elders explain the traditional way of life, if a woman wanted to "divorce" her husband, she had only to set his saddle outside the hogan door.

Despite the introduction of a western based value system, the traditional matriarchal system is still adhered to on many levels. However, considerable confusion results when the western patriarchal system is overlaid on the traditional matriarchal values.

Women traditionally have been recognized and accorded respect in most Native American oral history accounts. In western historical accounts, on the other hand, women's stories and contributions have often been overlooked. The most invisible of all people in EuroAmerican histories are the "women of color" including black and Native Americans. In the few cases where Native American women are mentioned in history and literature, they are usually characterized by such stereotypes as the Pocahontas princess to the less than human

"squaw." These two stereotypes have formed the basis of the media representation of the native woman, usually categorized through sexual innuendo as "the other."

Navajo treatment of women, historically and ceremonially, is light years away from the western stereotypes. The cultural stories associated with women have played a prominent part in Navajo ceremonialism and traditional ways of life. Changing Woman provides a role model as well as the embodiment of all cosmic relationships and growth. She expresses the changing of the seasons, in which all life, including the human, is an integral part of the growth and regeneration process. In this sense she provides a most important and central role in the process of life's revitalization and rejuvenation.

Countless powerful and deeply emotional stories exist in which women play a major role in many significant events. Spider Woman, for example, provided a spiritual feather to the Twins as they endeavored to travel to the Sun. She gave powerful and necessary instructions which provided the means by which the Twins survived. A major Protectionway ceremony associated with these teachings, Naayeeji, is still an integral part of Navajo society today. The teachings associated with this ceremony are recited repeatedly in order to address contemporary societal concerns.

Changing Women gave birth to the clans as a way to address the imperfections of life and restore balance to Dine people. Her story provides the basis for the Blessingway ceremonies. There are many other instances of ceremonial teachings that come from female figures

that are still highly respected and taught today. Historically too, women have played prominent roles, demonstrated through stories of clan origins and tales of survival against incredible odds. These stories include escape and survival from the forced labor of slavery as well as survival at the US army concentration camp at Fort Sumner. The accounts of these heroic women bring continuity and strength to families even today.

In an effort to redress the invisibility of women in EuroAmerican history books, many feminists are rewriting history (his-story), calling it, in some cases, her-story. This change, however, continues to perpetuate gender inequality. Navajo terms for story, *nihihane* (our story) or *hane* (story with no gender association) better express Navajo thinking. The Navajo terms imply a more balanced representation of the sexes. Perhaps the term "history" should be replaced with "ourstory" to be more in accordance with Navajo thinking.

The gender imbalance implicit in western historical and contemporary societal problems has given rise to the demoralization and demise of traditional human dignity and values. The abuse of human relationships has resulted in domestic and community violence ranging from mental to physical (beating) to severe (rape) and death. Of equal concern is the rise of single parent families, most prominently headed by females with extremely low paying jobs and little opportunity for career and professional development.

Domestic violence is an old problem that continues to feed on the destruction of women's integrity. Domestic violence can range

from mental and verbal abuse, to physical spouse and child abuse. In extreme cases it leads to torture, rape and death. Many of these cases have less to do with overt sexuality than with issues of power and dominance. Often these abuses carry their own vicious cycles, within generations of a single family. Abused children in turn become abusers. The incidence of domestic violence seems to be reaching epidemic proportions, causing grave concern, both on and off the reservation. Navajos say that these problems were once problems of the larger cities. Now, it is said, the problems are here on the reservation and they seem to be taking their toll.

There are some significant differences in regard to domestic violence on the Navajo Reservation. For example, when a girl or woman is abused, there is often no place she can go for shelter. Although a few battered women shelters do exist, they are located in distant towns and can only provide temporary crisis oriented relief. Due to the extreme housing shortage on the Navajo Reservation, it is almost impossible for a woman to leave a dysfunctional home. For some it is a lack of transportation problem, for others it is a lack of a place to live and a means of support. Many women are truly trapped in severely dysfunctional situations. The children of these women may well perpetuate the vicious cycle.

Diana B. Thompson, Director of Ama Doo Alchini Bighan, Inc., (loosely translated as a mother and children home) commonly referred to as ADABI, a Chinle based 24 hour crisis counseling and advocacy program on the Navajo Reservation, raises several fundamental concerns regarding domestic violence.

"According to the Prevalence Study done in Chinle last year," reports Diana Thompson, "most of the area violence occurs against women. These statistics reflect a breakdown in traditional respect and attitudes toward women. At ADABI we are seeing over 150 new families a year coming in as clients in cases of domestic violence. Although Chinle is a small community, these statistics are alarming, and may reflect a growing trend in domestic violence."

Traditionally safeguards existed within the social structure of the extended family. "Navajo philosophy," continues Thompson, "traditionally upheld a sense of equality between sexes. In the upholding of that sense of equality there was honor and respect toward women. Women traditionally lived with their extended families. If domestic violence occurred, the family would most likely intervene as a family obligation. I have even heard it said that to beat your woman was like kicking down your own hogan."

In contrast to the traditional safeguards that Thompson has described, western society has a long history of violence towards women. Not only has domestic violence been quietly condoned, it has also been legalized in some cases.

"For example several European nations had laws on record legalizing wife beating ," reports Thompson. "As long as you weren't too cruel, wife beating was legal in England according to the Maxims of law of 1613." In France, laws on record in 1285 stated that you could beat your wife as long as you didn't kill her. Russian household management laws stated that it was alright to beat your wife as long as you were not angry when you beat her (1556). Even in

the United States laws were on record regarding domestic violence. In Texas, as recently as 1961, a man could kill his wife and it would be justified, if he found her in bed with another man.

Although there is a strong movement against domestic violence outside the Reservation, spearheaded largely by feminist groups, there is little tribal support for shelters and counseling programs on the Reservation. Thompson clarifies the situation, saying "unfortunately, there is a lot of shame and concealment of violence in family life among the Navajo. Many women do not feel they have the right to say no, to report the situation to the police or to leave their families. Although many of the domestic violence incidents are associated with alcohol, alcohol is not the primary cause. The causes are complex and deeply embedded in historic grief for which much healing is needed."

The increase in the number of single parent families may be attributed in part to attempts at resolving problems inherent in dysfunctional families with domestic violence. This involves primarily women as single providers for their families. However, there are also numerous cases of men being the single parent.

According to Roselyn Maryboy, Mental Health Specialist currently working with the San Juan County, Utah Counseling Center, and constantly addressing severe cases of dysfunctional families on the Navajo Reservation, "the overwhelming concern of the majority of single parents, who are primarily women, is economic." "The lack of an adequate job market out here," says Maryboy, "consequently leads to an increasing dependency on welfare. AFDC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children] support is vital in a majority of these cases."

Due to the extreme lack of jobs on the Reservation, many single parents are forced to look for jobs in the border towns. "However," adds Maryboy, "border town jobs are limited to those who can afford transportation or are willing to relocate away from their families. There is no adequate mass transportation system for many locations on the Reservation."

"How does this affect children?" asks Maryboy. "Many of the single parents that I work with mention an overriding concern of not being able to be an adequate full time parent. They are so preoccupied with providing the basic needs for survival, that they don't have enough time for traditional parenting and education."

"Men are so irresponsible these days," according to George Etcitty, Navajo traditionalist and spiritual leader. "Men think they can just father a child and be done with it. I'm glad that laws are in existence out there, but I'm not sure if they are being implemented here on the Reservation. It's too bad they have to create laws to fulfill some fathers' responsibilities and obligations."

Etcitty who is presently with Administration in the Navajo Division of Community Development was formerly with the Navajo Department of Behavioral Health. In these capacities he has been closely associated with attempts to provide solutions to these problems. In Etcitty's opinion, some of the confusion results from "a lack of listening to the culture. Who listens to culture anymore? We want to be like white man. We don't listen to the elders much any more."

"For some of these reasons," continues Etcitty, "there are barriers to the implementation of traditional cultural healing into Behavioral Health programs. There is a total lack of understanding of Navajo culture. Many people can't distinguish between culture and the Bible. They say that if you are going to include culture, it is the same as including religion. If you put in one, you have to put in all."

"But by excluding culture you exclude traditional healing practices that may really benefit people," he continues, "such as sweat lodge, talking circle, star gazing and mediation."

Aside from tradition, many of the contemporary influences that Navajos are experiencing are similar to what many EuroAmericans are going through. This brings up a question that Navajos must answer. If, as many people say, western society is failing to address the critical problems of our times, why is Navajo society blindly following a failing system? Why not acknowledge and use healing practices from a traditional system that has worked for centuries?

Traditionally indigenous societies had models which were an integral part of the web of their cultural and spiritual way of life. These were seldom codified or written as they are in western societies, however they still served as a tribal core for a way of living. Traditional Navajo society used a central core of Sa'ah Naaghai Bik'eh Hozhoo as a model for living. In this respect, Sa'ah Naaghai represented the male aspects and Bik'eh Hozhoo represented the female aspects.

Earlier we described some of the complex teachings of these underlying principles and values through the constellations of Nahookos Bika, the Male Revolving One and Nahookos Bi'aad, the Female Revolving One, bound together by a central fire, Nahookos Biko, the North Star. This group of constellations is sung about in the Blessingway Ceremony, Hozhooji, and the nine night ceremonies, Nahastei Tleji which include Yei bi Chai and Firedance. The principles and teachings inherent in SNBH, associated with these ceremonies, can be used as a paradigm model to discuss contemporary problems and provide recommendations and solutions. In this way current problems can be examined through the cultural perspective of ancient teachings associated with celestial bodies. This is particularly true of contemporary gender conflicts which can be addressed through the teachings of the Nahookos constellations.

In order to address contemporary gender conflicts it is necessary to examine fundamental principles inherent in the teaching of the Nahookos constellations. Particular emphasis must be placed on the traditional teachings inherent in the central fire, Nahookos Biko, the North Star.

If one follows the traditional teachings of the natural law of the male and female constellations bound by the central fire, one discovers it is the dynamic balance which enables life to continue in a natural healthy way. This is true of any life situation. Navajos call this yee as'aa naaghahigi, (it has its own balance). This teaching has been followed for centuries and has been elevated to the

realm of the sacred, in much the same way that following this way of life is living a sacred life.

If one follows this traditional teaching as a model by which to distinguish gender equality, it will become evident that there are serious inequities between the male and female sexes in both western and Navajo society today. The imbalance is heavily weighted toward the male aspects. This is immediately apparent in even a cursory study of the English language. One needs to look no further than to the historic patriarchal systems that form the foundation of western culture. Terms and concepts such as God the Father, Our Father who art in heaven, and his-story illustrate the imbalance. In the Navajo language, as a point of comparison, there is no gender association with Diyin (glossed as Great Spirit), both male and female balance are implied.

Following these natural laws, as understood by traditional Navajo people through the teachings of SNBH, it is apparent that if one goes too far to the right, collapse occurs. Vice versa, if one goes too far to the left, collapse again results. This is natural law, true for all life and all societies. As a point of comparison, analogies can be drawn expressing similarities with other areas of life. In politics, for example, going too far to the left or too far to the right, can be detrimental to society as a whole. A balance of power creates a stability between nations. Balancing the budget is critical to the well being of a country.

The Nahookos constellations illustrate and maintain a dynamic balance through their constant and cyclical orbits around the North

Star, their home fire. They never get out of balance. If they did it would signal a grave imbalance in the solar system, a cosmic chaos. The importance of maintaining equilibrium and the teachings associated with balance through the Nahookos constellations is of critical importance.

The teachings of the Nahookos constellations inherent in SNBH have been applied to the contemporary Navajo way of life, in an attempt to resolve marital discord and other significant male-female conflicts. According to Dr. Wilson Aronilth, Jr, noted Navajo educator and spiritual leader, "if you were to examine conflict in the Navajo context, it would become clear that it takes two to create a problem. This is true of everything in the world. It takes two to make a conflict."

"It has been my experience," he continues, "that a lot of problems arise due to the unequalness of belief between men and women. By that I don't mean just religious belief, although that would naturally be included. For instance if one person believes that everything in life revolves around money, in other words making money the extreme priority of life, and that person's companion or spouse believes otherwise, then you have problems. The result is that you will just abuse one another. The money that is supposed to make your life better instead will start hurting you and your relationships. Money becomes a weapon in your relationship. Any extreme action to the right or left has the same effect."

"If whoever raised you did not condition you, you can easily get out of control," adds Dr. Aronilth. "If you find yourself saying

"it's none of your business" to someone who raised you, like your mom, you are not only undermining your own roots, you are also exposing your own vulnerability. The quickest way to get out of this kind of situation is to blame it on someone else, another woman or man. Sometimes it is the fault of both sides and they blame one another. In those cases, both will be right. The easiest way for most people is to just leave one another."

To what extent then, does acculturation play a role in the attitudinal and behavioral changes so apparent on the Navajo Reservation today?

"Whenever the female becomes dominant," according to Johnson Dennison, Director of the Dine Education Philosophy Office at Navajo Community College, "the man starts taking a subservient role. I have seen many divorces due largely to this, on the Navajo Reservation. A lot has to do with acculturation and women going on to higher education. Many times the man stays behind. He may take construction jobs. The end result is that the man doesn't know what to do and often his natural reaction is macho, aggressive. He may react through domestic violence or he may look around for someone that he feels more comfortable with."

A vicious cycle ensues and begins to perpetuate itself. It is natural for the woman to react to the man's reaction. A similar reaction results and the situation continues to escalate. An out of balance cycle continues without harmony where everybody is hurt, man, woman and children. A jealous war between the sexes ensues, where the jealousy becomes the initiator of all actions. Many of these

imbalances have grave consequences, often resulting in domestic and community violence, rape, divorce and leading to situations of economically deprived, welfare-based single parenting.

According to traditional Dine educators, women do not have to resort to overt control or take the dominant naayee (male) role. Their strength lies in the beauty of love, harmonious words, expression of affection. Women can still achieve the same results without conflict by working through expressions of bik'eh hozhoo, the female values. These teachings are extremely valuable in the context of everyday life. Men need to contain some of these harmonious feminine aspects just as women need to retain some degree of the male strength and force.

People throughout the world are searching for answers and models to follow in relation to these problems. Traditional indigenous peoples have historically followed these models as a natural part of their lives. The cultural teachings emanated from their cultural and spiritual world views. Although these teachings were not written down they were however embedded in the cultural context of the tribe.

Very elaborate value systems were articulated through the cultural language and spiritual fabric of the people.

The culture that a person is born into determines ones' obligations and privileges. Often these roles require the most strict discipline in a traditional way. For Navajos, these teachings are tied to many things in the natural world. Many of these teachings are tied to the constellations. The importance of maintaining some sort of balance to provide harmony and continuity

between persons is embedded in these teachings. These values may well be universal but the western society seems to lack a deeply rooted cultural matrix from which to address the complexity of contemporary societal problems.

Native people should question many of the basic assumptions that are part of the western value system. A fundamental reassessment seems to be in order. Native people need to reach back to their ancient relationships and powerful teachings as a way to address these serious contemporary societal problems. Traditional teachings can effectively address these all too common problems between men and women. For the Navajos this is self evident through the teachings of the Nahookos constellations, the balance of forces of negative and positive energy. In order to attain the dynamic balance inherent in the Nahookos constellations, both men and women need to re-examine their traditional roles and determine how these roles can be revitalized in a contemporary society.

In this paper we have tried to elucidate the importance of the central dynamic balance inherent in the Nahookos constellations. The teaching associated with this balance is female teaching, as'aa bee na'ada' bee nanitin. These are extremely powerful teachings. The awareness and utilization of these teachings bring about a natural empowerment. Rather than overt control there are varying degrees of balance and harmony manifested which lead to individual and community self esteem.

These teachings also lead to peace between individuals and within families. Understanding your role, your self identity is

vital, whether it is in a traditional sense or a contemporary sense. This revitalized self awareness of the teachings provides the fundamental basis for self esteem, which ultimately results in intrinsic self actualization and empowerment.

"Squaws" With Crowbars: Native American Women Laborers on the
Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, 1870-1945

by
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During 1901 my fifteen year-old grandfather left the family homeland and joined heavy labor crews laying track for railroad expansion westward from middle America. Lying about meeting the minimum age requirement, he began toil that consumed his days, nights, weekends and health for another fifty years. He did this both willingly and out of a sense of duty to his biological and extended family. My grandfather did not have a high school education, but he handled tools like a master, and remained a man-of-the-outdoors his entire life. He spent endless hours at his railroad section maintenance job, and on matters to do with rituals of a secretive male lodge he attended; he also continually dug, organized and fixed "things" around the exterior of the large farm house he and my grandmother occupied. Even while inside the house, however, my grandfather kept his sweat-stained felt hat on, always looking out of place, as if merely passing through.

Indeed, the interior of the house fell entirely within my grandmother's province, and she consequently spent little time outdoors, as far as I can remember. Her days were filled with house-cleaning, cooking for endless family meals and community events, hand-washing clothes in copper and steel tubs, and stretching voluminous lace curtains on large wood frames each week to dry. While my grandfather roamed the out of doors, my grandmother reigned

supreme inside. No mention ever came of reassigning their equally laborious and demanding lifetime chores, at least for more than nominal mutual assistance. On the other hand, no disaster ever occurred that required a wholesale transplanting of job roles, and neither voiced discontent with playing his or her part in making a whole life together. Even when World Wars I and II found women replacing males as railroad laborers, their vocational boundaries remained unblurred, although this reflected the dictates of the war machine more than personal choice. My grandparents remained in place held by combined restraints of ethnic worldview, contemporary military imposition, and familial necessity.

These recollections of my grandparents' labors seem particularly odd when cast against modern discussion about workplace, gender roles, and stereotypes. The curiosity occurs around what is by now, hopefully, empirical knowledge among academics: that women's capacity as laborers outside the home is largely ignored by scholars, except in fields of study tightly focused on gender issues. Further, and most important to this essay, Native American women in particular have yet to escape the opprobrium of romantic historicism, cast solely as consorts of either nobles or savages. Recognition of their efforts on their own terms, credible for their own reasons as reasoning participants in their own destinies, continues to elude Native women. Although possibilities for this recognition fit snugly within a broader historical inspection of transportation, trans-Mississippi expansion, and ethnic themes, inclusion of Native women's labor issues remains conspicuously absent from scholarly literature. This essay addresses that void, with the optimistic goal of at least

pointing to the unmended seam in our national tapestry. Most certainly, many more contemporary and historical insights are called for to rectify this omission of Native American women's labor participation and to make the societal cloth whole for future generations.

In Discovered Lands, Invented Pasts, Jules David Prown referred to popular reminiscences of the American "Old West" as images "colored by countless romanticizations" of fiction and the visual media. "Consider the process," he wrote, "whereby a scrim of myth has come to veil our view of the past, misleading but pleasing"; he posited, therefore that supposedly accurate depiction of western themes instead reflected "the needs, values, and aspirations of its viewing audience."¹ That veiled observation of the past, with Prown's "scrim of myth" obfuscating imagery of western life, is exemplified jarringly in the reminiscences of William Hoad, a purported "former employee" of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. Quoted by Osburn Winther in The Transportation Frontier: Trans-Mississippi West, 1865-1890, Hoad recalled early railroad work crews in terms abundant with social and ethnic bias. He listed "pigtailed" Chinese, "border ruffians" and "broken men from Europe" as working with "wartime bushwhackers" and "state prison graduates." Among the "desperadoes" on the 1870s work gangs, he included "many Mexicans" and "red men and their squaws" laboring together to build the tracks. Hoad dismissed the white workers as merely "restless" drifters, a possible attempt to diminish the well-known defections and strikes by Anglo laborers unused to the additional rigors of a "hostile" land. Ironically, however, he specifically recalled the Native American

"squaws" as employing crowbars and sledgehammers better than their working companions.²

We cannot now accurately determine either the bent of Hoad's bias or exactly why penny dreadful jargon infused his image of this western scene. Nor should we accept his description as any other than what is offered: an observation saturated in cultural ethnocentrism. Two points, however, are exceedingly important about his recollection. One is that, if correct, Hoad's reference to Native American women as railroad labor is the first extant in this research, and two, that reference may represent the earliest representation of Native women's industrial labor in any venue, despite the unacceptable context. The basic accuracy of Hoad's remembrance may never be substantiated, and later material in the manuscript calls into question whether author Osborn Winthur included Hoad for reasons other than anecdotal shock value. For example, Winther subsequently referred to the remote 1870s railroad camps as catering to the worker's need for "food, clothing, liquor, women, and gambling."³ In general, women in his railroad camp descriptions represented mere accessories to the scene, without economic value, other than as attendants to the men's needs. No matter how we rationalize these charges to nullity, the volume's representations nonetheless inevitably leave us with mixed messages. The descriptions conjure up images of Native American women as employees, willingly at hard work, and at the same instant deliver images of Native women as rough laborers, more masculine than the men, reinforcing thereby an old "savage Indian" stereotype, and later, completely subordinating women to the men in the railroad camps.

Another, more subtle, facsimile also lingers at the edges of this scene: while the representations wittingly degrade and defile Native American women they also unwittingly acknowledge their presence as valuable labor.

Further, the very fact these Natives toil for the same machinery that is forging inexorable change in their homelands is intriguing and calls for a presence of its own. Social, trade, and federal government connections linked communications from the East to the communities of Native people along the southwestern lines of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe expansion, signaling the railroad's approach, and clearly sounding inevitable economic and societal change for Native groups. Final elimination of a Native viewpoint from the federal decision for renewed intrusion across Native American land resounded in Craig Miner's analysis of the late nineteenth-century period of railroad development. "The Congress would give the railroad a land grant and traffic," wrote Miner, and "the railroad would give the government a new state and immense gains in taxable property."⁴ He translated this equation into a Native adjustment to the situation that mandated becoming "both a promoter and an opponent of corporate privilege," with "even a single Indian [being] each at different times, in different situations, or at different levels of perception."⁵ Quoting Choctaw Chief Allen Wright's comment before Congress that, "It is idle to talk of things remaining as they were," Miner observed, "To resist change at last was out of the question."⁶ Not surprisingly, then, many Native Americans along the path of railroad construction to the Pacific overtly chose to ally themselves with the presence of machine-driven

alteration in their homeland. "The railroad was not interested in cultural anthropology," noted Craig Miner simply, and the "Indians would benefit financially...and financial prosperity was the mania of the age."⁷ As encapsulated by historian David Rich Lewis in Still Native, these Native groups persisted by "selectively resisting, adopting, and adapting to ever-changing circumstances."⁸

Whether or not William Hoad only toyed with mean-spirited stereotypes of Native American "squaws," or Native women actually wielded crowbars and sledgehammers with masculine dexterity in the 1870s, is immaterial to the broader consideration of labor-gender issues. Certainly the possibility, if not the probability, of their hard labor exists, born from nothing else than common sense, both theirs and ours. Rather than filling stereotypical roles, male and female Native Americans of the era "acted as complete human beings with a full range of motives and a variety of interests and degrees of understanding" with regard to employment and the intrusion of the railroads.⁹ To believe otherwise robs the Native tribes involved of their presence and assigns them to positions as passive onlookers in their own history; it is also contrary to, albeit fragmented, 20th-century women's railroad labor records.

Difficulty getting white workers to take work and remain on the job in New Mexico and Arizona led the *Railway Gazette* to proclaim the southwest the "hardest place in the nation" for recruiting quality labor in 1900. As early as 1882 the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe hired Mexican labor for work crews; blacks filled some of the menial

jobs such as coal shovelers and warehousemen, and, by 1900, Japanese immigrants provided a new source of cheap labor.¹⁰

Observations by scholars of southwestern railroad history focused significantly on labor for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, and a predecessor line, the Atlantic & Pacific railroad. Native people "in the hundreds" from the Pueblos, and Navajo, Apache, and Mojave tribes gained some recognition as providing early railroad labor along the 35th Parallel route to California.¹¹ While there are no further evident references to Native labor by gender until World War II, some of the reflexive historic literature swelled with heavy stereotyping and oppressive denouncement. In one example, Native male laborers' attire, or lack of it in the southwestern heat, provided a "source of much embarrassment" to railroad passengers, who apparently spent a considerable amount of time staring out of the coach windows at the workmen. Further, the Native laborers' excellence as "shovelers" seemed an "oddity," and those on wrecking crews purportedly "turned the occasion into one of gross thievery." As if attempting to leaven such rank imagery, the author of the latter observations added that, through education, the Natives' "quality" improved, to the apparently unbelievable point that "many of them are currently [1950] employed."¹²

The Native railroad workers during the late 19th and early 20th centuries often appeared as little more than peculiar stage scenery for the tourists, government workers, missionaries, and homesteaders swarming through the Southwest, with the newcomers carried swiftly along in railroad coaches on the newly laid tracks. The role of Native American women became gridlocked by the imposition of new

expectations from without colliding with Native desires to remain whole societies within redefined, often unspoken, boundaries. While Native railroad work remained primarily the province of men well past the turn of the century, southwestern Native American women provided peripheral railroad ornamentation of another sort for gawking outsiders: they were the shy, quiet, vendors of local arts and crafts. An elder from Laguna Pueblo talked in 1960 about the convergence of the early days of railroading and the women vendors in his community. Asked about the railroad's effect, the Laguna replied, "When I was a kid, they used to be a lot of tourists come out of the eastern cities [and] they stop the trains at Laguna...they visit the local Laguna village [Old Laguna Pueblo]."¹³ The only early 20th-century women's role perceivable to the visitors materialized at trainside, when local women purveyed pueblo material culture for sale and posed frequently as aboriginal curiosities for tourist cameras, and then presumably maintained a cultural holding pattern until the next train's arrival. "When the train stop," said the Laguna elder, the women "were there when the train comes in to sell pottery to the people."¹⁴

The railroads, with allies in the federal Indian Office, focused on recruiting male labor during the immediate post-1900 era, especially "boys from schools along the Santa Fe lines."¹⁵ Intervening missionaries and government social workers increasingly reinforced the women's role of traditional craftswoman and homemaker. About 1905, the federal government hired C. E. Dagenett, a Peoria tribal member, as national employment supervisor for the Indian Office. Dagenett's job included negotiating labor for schoolboys at \$1.50 to

\$2.25 per ten-hour day with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railway system. "One of the greatest advantages," wrote Dagenett to the federal Indian commissioner in 1909, "is that it will cost the government practically nothing [since] transportation would be provided them" by the railroad.¹⁶ Enigmatically, the same letter also made reference to Native women's labor, with Dagenett reporting to the commissioner that "[t]ravelers remark with unaffected surprise, that Indians may be seen as workers whenever able-bodied men and women are needed."¹⁷ In a subsequent letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs dated June 2, 1911, Dagenett mitigates the likelihood of this comment inferring that the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe employed Native women as wielders of crowbars and sledgehammers on the lines. He reported that, "[o]rdinarily railroad work is not desirable for Indians on account of the rough class of labor frequently employed in this work...I have generally refrained from placing Indians in Railroad [sic] camps, with few exceptions, on this account, unless...the entire gang will be composed of Indians."¹⁸ No further mention appeared regarding labor by gender classification.

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe labor agreements with Dagenett do, however, illustrate that workers and their families hired on in a sort of "package arrangement," as this no doubt proved beneficial to all parties. The preamble to one contract cites mutual advantage, coupled with an express desire by the railroad to see that "conditions of the Indians and their families may be bettered and that they may receive the benefits of and money earned by their labor."¹⁹ Under a 1911 contract, in excess of 300 members of the "Apache, Navajo, Mojave, Chimaway, Pima, Mission, Papago, Pueblo,

Hopi, Yuma, Hualapai, Pawnee, and Chippewa tribes" received \$15,686.79 in earnings for the year,²⁰ an average of less than \$52.30 each, plus round-trip passes for "free" rail transportation to and from home. The agreement specified that "no return passes shall be issued to any of such Indians or their families (except in cases of sickness) unless such Indian shall have performed at least thirty full [i.e., ten hours each] day's labor for the Railway Company."²¹ Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe wages in 1900 "averaged slightly less than \$700" annually, and by 1915 rose [excluding officials] to \$854.81. "The average employee of the Santa Fe [in 1915]" reported historian L. L. Waters, "received 27.2 cents per hour and worked a little over 60 hours a week." Wages doubled by 1920, largely due to piggybacked increases for handling war materiel during World War I.²² The role of Native Americans, and women generally, changed from the early years regarding the holding of responsible jobs on the lines. Mrs. Caroline Prentis, the first female employee, clerked at the Topeka station in 1874,²³ but later, more women engaged in stenographic and clerical work, with some eventually being employed as station agents, telegraphers, and car cleaners, as a result of the male labor shortage during World War I.²⁴

There is no precise reference extant in transportation or railroad histories indicating use of Native American women as railroad laborers during this period, despite the general addition of women on the lines to fill jobs vacated by military inductees. Inquiry among retired Laguna women railroad employees did not reveal any recollection of women serving on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe during World War I, although one tribal woman commented, "If we

ask enough people, we'll probably find one." She could not, however, think of any among the more than 7,000 enrolled Laguna tribal members.²⁵ The railroad laborer's wage gains of World War I suffered from a "postwar recession and an intensive campaign launched by railway management to roll back [increases] achieved by railroad shopcraft unions." As a result, 400,000 railroad shopmen walked out on July 1, 1922 in the nation's largest strike in nearly 30 years. Although the strike was 90 percent effective, it was harried by a steady infusion of non-union workers by railroads, an anti-union stance by the federal government, and systematic stripping of striking shopmen's seniority by management; the Shopmen's Strike was settled on September 13, 1922.²⁶ The ignominious defeat for the unions brought a decline in membership and illustrated a "powerful anti-labor axis...forged by government and railway management."²⁷ Oddly enough, it was aided by Native American replacements for striking workers. Asked if the replacements comprised families, Native veterans of the Shopmen's Strike era replied that they did not, that only the men came "because its such a danger, you know. They said that [strike] was a lot of trouble."²⁸

The Laguna Pueblo people responded to a request from company management to honor a long-standing labor agreement, and men from the Laguna and nearby Acoma pueblos moved into Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe train yards at numerous sites to replace striking workers. Following the settlement of the strike, some laborers remained, forming the first semi-permanent labor communities in their respective locations.²⁹ Subsequent waves of Laguna workers, again buttressed by their Acoma neighbors from New Mexico, came in and out

of these "Indian villages," adding a sense of labor solidarity and continuity with each passing decade. By World War II, six historic villages existed on the Laguna Reservation and four settlements elsewhere along the railroad lines. The Laguna communities at Gallup, Winslow, Barstow and Richmond applied to their pueblo governor at home for recognition as "Colonies of the Laguna Pueblo in New Mexico" and received this status.³⁰ Eventually, the company provided more permanent housing in converted boxcars set in rows on track sidings.³¹ The entry in 1941 of the United States into World War II created a sudden, wrenching demand on resources of all kinds. Entire families of Native American railroad laborers served the military effort as inductees and in civil defense work, in civilian efforts assigned by the federal government, and as male and female workers in the critical field of national transportation.

During World War II, Dorothy Johnson wrote in "Women in War Work" that "class 1" railroads employed 112,000 women out of 250,000 in the transportation industry, constituting 7.9 percent of all railroad employees.³² Johnson quoted Cornelia Edge, of the federal government's Office of Defense Transportation, as saying, "If it had not been for women, the railroads would not operate during the war time crisis"³³; Edge's assertion led others to state, "Railroading is no longer the last redoubt of men."³⁴ In 1929, Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe employed 1,000 women,³⁵ but by 1943 the figure rose to 3,500, with one-third of the women given work "ordinarily" assigned to men.³⁶ The company established a special department of women's personnel in 1943 to merge the "swelling numbers" of females into the work force.³⁷

The average number of Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe employees grew from 41,300 in 1940 to 53,980 by 1942. War production required company handling of 28 billion tons of freight and three billion reported fares in 1942. The railroads provided the nation's "lifeline," with a "vast formation" of 40,000 trains moving across the country daily. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe operated as many as 1,800 trains during each 24-hour period.³⁸ The critical wartime production tended to level differences, some of which were previously attributed to gender and race and obscured, for the moment, some of which were traditional Native American hesitations about mixing too much with outsiders. An "eager troupe" of company employees, men and women who were "playing their part...to bring down the final curtain...for the Axis foes," maintained and operated the company's rolling stock.³⁹ A retired employee from Laguna Pueblo commented, "During the war, they call us again [because of the] Santa Fe railroad agreement on this job." He added emphatically, "You come up something like the strike [1922], a war [World War II], you call us and need help, we'll help you."⁴⁰

During 1984, Constance L. Menninger interviewed Margaret Irwin Hauke of Council Grove, Kansas. Hauke held many positions with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe but felt "more helpful" to the company during the war years. As the company's director of the Women's Personnel Department during World War II, Hauke assumed ad hoc responsibility supervising Native American female employees. Hauke noted in her testimony that the company had a "perfect crew of Indians at Winslow" and that, "[t]hey even had an Indian band made up entirely of Indians."⁴¹ Asked if the group was used as part of the

effort to sell war bonds, Hauke responded that "this band at Winslow was famous long before we got into the war" and that it "continued through the war."⁴²

Many Native men and women alike further supported the war effort by buying government war bonds with their railroad earnings. Some assisted on bond-selling tours, using their tribal heritage to create interest. In June, 1945 the *Chicago Tribune* described Hauke as the "No. One woman of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe R.R." and a "feminine paradox."⁴³ Her duties for the company included anything from office extra to executive. She participated in ways varying "[f]rom keeping a handful of Indians dancing on a War bond-selling tour...to keeping an army of girls working on war jobs." The article also said she taught "dancing Indians how to play dominoes and tiddlywinks" as their entertainment between shows.⁴⁴ In March, 1942 the company directed Hauke to "go to Santa Fe, New Mexico, and get eight Jemez Indians and bring them to Chicago." The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe donated her services and that of the Jemez Native Americans to the federal government to sell war bonds. "I didn't know anything about the Jemez Indians," said Hauke in reflecting on the executive order.⁴⁵ The Jemez and other wartime Native Americans not only helped sell war bonds using their tribal heritage; they bought the bonds as well. Ronald Takaki wrote in A Different Mirror, "On the home front, Indians supported the war financially," stating that they had bought \$13 million in war bonds by April 1943. With vocational skills acquired at reservation schools, Native Americans assumed employment in "shipyards, airplane plants, and tank

factories," earning cash income to "participate in the defense of America."⁴⁶

Involvement in the war effort was not necessarily a static matter that welded Natives to one job, however. In 1943 Margaret Irwin Hauke came to the Richmond Shops to review some problems specific to the employment of women. Hauke remembered one incident unique to the temporary wartime employment of Navajos:

When I got over to the roundhouse, up on top of it was a very colorful, pretty thing--I'll always remember it--there three [sic] Navajo women on the top of this steam engine, cleaning it. They were polishing and cleaning it, and they had all their Navajo skirts on and their velveteen blouses and all this wonderful Indian jewelry. And the head of that division said, "We can't get these women to wear pants at all, so I don't know what we're going to do but we just let them work like that."⁴⁷

We had a large safety department [and] the women...were not to have any flowing garments. Well, this worked very well, except for the Indians--they didn't want to do this, so they drifted away to some other position. They just didn't want to stay with us--that is in the Bay Area because we wouldn't let them come with those big skirts.⁴⁸

"There are 901 women employees on the [Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe] Western Lines" announced the December, 1944 issue of the San Angelo Standard-Times. The article observed that, following the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the discovery that women's "natural house-cleaning ability" fit into "engine wiping" work in the shops garnered employment for many there. "Some Women Are Actually Working On Section Gangs" the journalist wrote.⁴⁹ L. L. Waters listed jobs assigned to women during wartime as including signal tower operator, agent, freight handler, turntable operator, yard clerk, track sweeper, drill-press operator, sheet metal worker, engine wiper, fire builder, timekeeper and "countless" other positions never before allotted to women.⁵⁰ Wives, mothers, and sisters of soldiers, plus

women "not otherwise classified," contributed to the war effort through their railroad employment.⁵¹

Margaret Irwin Hauke remembered "chair car" attendants as male "Negroes," but after the beginning of World War II "all nationalities" of women replaced them. The "little wrangling" between Mexicans, black Americans and "your whites" didn't occur at Winslow, Arizona, and other similar places, she said. She recollected, "We used mostly Indian women working there and they were very nice to get along with and I enjoyed working with them."⁵² In her life narrative, Hauke commented on the "wonderful" stories about the wartime roles of women and the media "showing pictures" of them at work. She remembered them "cleaning parts--engine [locomotive] parts and doing every kind of work you could imagine." She added that "the hardest problem" was the heavy work in the shops. Finding women willing to do shop labor "without any prospect" of advancement proved difficult.⁵³ "Then," said Hauke, "I learned something about the union," declaring "that to start to work in the shops, anyone, man or woman...had to start as a laborer."⁵⁴ One Laguna who remained at Richmond during those years recalled "over 100" male pueblo employees at the shops, but only fifteen returned to Richmond afterward. He added, "The war ruined everything."⁵⁵ This man was one of "maybe 30" Lagunas at Richmond not inducted into the military.

"Some of the men didn't go because the rest of them went," he explained. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe then called for additional Native women to fill jobs along the lines. Since many already lived locally in the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Native

labor camps, they applied "on site" as wartime positions came available.⁵⁶

One Native woman seemed surprised at questions about male prejudice against women workers or possible inequality in pay as a wartime issue. "They were already hiring [us] before...before the men went to war," she replied, indicating her perception that the men, Natives and non-Natives alike, accepted the women as equals. Further, the narrator represented the pay as equal, since the women performed "a man's job," and reported that the "union rules" decided the amount. She laughed while describing the hard work, "even changing the wheels, just like on a car [automobile], you know," and always wearing safety helmets. "All nationalities, all races" summed up her demographic judgment of the women's work force for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe during World War II. Her retiree husband observed that, by 1945, at the war's end, "They lay them off [the Native women], you know, cut them off." Asked about other returning Native Americans, he replied, "Some of them went as far as Barstow, some went as far as Winslow and Gallup [but] they didn't come up to Richmond [as laborers] anymore."⁵⁷ Like the men, the women retained photographic reminders and other memorabilia from their years on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe. One woman proudly recalled the attention given her railroad employment as an engine [locomotive] "oiler," saying that her daughter had a picture of her that came out in "all the newspapers all over the United States," and "it was in The Santa Fe Magazine, too."⁵⁸ This Native American woman's evident pride in her role speaks to her significant contribution to national wartime need, and she recounted her

experiences clearly and thoughtfully. She epitomized the diligent, proud laborer of my grandmother's era--the half-implied image conjured up in a "squaw" plying a crowbar on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe rails.

My grandparents never dreamed of adapting each other's roles during their life together, as far as I will ever know. Their lives evolved from days on the western frontier and rode its aftermath into the industrial technology of the 20th century. They changed from rural dwellers to urbanites, I am sure, due to their chosen proximity to the expanding empires built by steam locomotion. Nonetheless, they remained devoted to principles and norms that continued to control them from ancestral homelands. I am equally sure, although the time is long past for confirming it, that my grandmother's clinging to her traditional role in the family structure might have altered, on her own terms, if family survival and necessity dictated it. My grandparents, like many Native American railroad families, participated in the mechanized change sweeping westward. They remained staunchly independent, however, exemplifying Michael McGerr's observation: "The 20th century hasn't been cooperating with historians who study the United States." McGerr noted that, "[c]orporations and other bureaucracies...have had a surprisingly limited impact on individual American's attitudes and behavior" and that "a strong sense of self, of individual agency and importance, still pervades American culture."⁵⁹

We are fortunate to have Native participants' voices available to corroborate our archival patchwork of Native American women as railroad laborers, since, in the absence of those proclamations, the

record would remain fragmented and incomplete at best. By their speaking for themselves as active participants in their history, we can synthesize Native experience and attitudes with already present documentation, thereby creating the future record. In the presence of inadequately recorded data, we ought not be surprised that the historical record is still burdened with the vestiges of romanticized imagery of the Old West. We are left, unfortunately, with mere representations of "squaws" with crowbars, rather than images of whole, multidimensional, Native American women laborers. Clinging to these representational relics as modern perceptions of historical truth is unacceptable in our society. Many Native American women and men shared a sophisticated participation in their changing circumstances, leading them not toward assimilation into the newcomer's culture but into selectively adapting those elements that could be controlled, and thereby persisting as changed but intact societies. We must now commence particularly recognizing those persistent societies, and the experiences from which they were born, including the experiences of Native American women, as an integral part of America's whole labor history.

Endnotes

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- 8 David Rich Lewis, "Still Native: The Significance of Native Americans in the History of the Twentieth-Century American West," in The Western Historical Quarterly, volume XXIV, Number 2, (May 1993): 205. For an additional study of the persistence of cultural systems in the presence of large-scale organizations and the resistance element therein, see Edward H. Spicer, "Persistent Cultural Systems: A comparative study of identity systems that can adapt to contrasting environments," in Science, volume 174, 19 (November 1971): 795-800.
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- 10 James H. Ducker. Men of the Steel Rails: Workers on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, 1869-1900 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), pp. 27-30.
- 11 Ibid, p. 27. Also see L. L. Waters, Steel Trails to Santa Fe (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1950), p. 327.
- 12 Waters, p. 327.
- 13 Doris Duke Collection, Tape #213 (side 1), Laguna Pueblo, Anonymous, 11-18-69, by Mike Husband, University of New Mexico, Zimmerman Library, Special Collections, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
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- 15 Letter dated January 4, 1908 from Dagenett to A. G. Wells, General Manager Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, Los Angeles, California. Indian Office Files. C. E. Dagenett, Supervisor, Relative to securing work for Indian boys in shops of the Santa Fe Ry., RG 75 Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Records of the Inspection Division, Special Agent Dagenett, 1907-22, PI163, E.949, Boxes 26-30.
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- 19 *Summary of Report, p. 1. Annual Report to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Office of Indian Affairs, Supervisor of Indian Employment, Washington, dated August 22, 1912, RG 75 Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Records of the Inspection Division, Special Agent Dagenett, 1907-22, PI163, E.949, Boxes 26-30.*
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- 22 Waters, p. 328.
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- 25 Personal interview on March 26, 1995 with Nellie Arkie Sarracino at Laguna Pueblo, New Mexico, and Ruth Sarracino

- Hopper, University of California, Berkeley, from University of California, Los Angeles, telephone conversation, May 3, 1995.
- 26 James Quigel, Labor Conflict in the United States: An Encyclopedia, Ronald L. Fillippi, editor (New York: Garland Publishing Company, 1990), pp. 435-438.
- 27 Ibid, p. 439.
- 28 Interview at Laguna Pueblo with Santiago and Nellie Sarracino, October 5, 1991.
- 29 Santiago B. and Nellie A. Sarracino, taped and personal interviews, University of California, Berkeley and Laguna Pueblo, New Mexico, September 1991-May 1993; Ruth Hopper, personal interviews, University of California, Berkeley, September 1991-May 1993. Interviews with Ethel Rogoff, Teresita Garcia, Timothy Anallah, Gerald West, Paul Thomas, Santiago Thomas, Ruby Antonio, Ella Kie, Charles Romero, and others, recorded at Vallejo and Richmond, California, and at Laguna Pueblo between June 1992 and March, 1995. Hereinafter referred to as Personal Interviews.
- 30 The historic settlements on the reservation comprised Laguna, Seama, Paguete, Encinal, Paraje, and Mesita, with Gallup, Winslow, Barstow and Richmond as the major Laguna railroad labor camps. Although other labor communities existed along the railroad lines, these four, the largest and most well organized, applied for "colony" status. None of the railroad camps exists today. Personal Interviews.
- 31 Numerous disparate references to the 1922 beginnings of Native labor camps along the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe lines exist. For one example, see *Investigation of Cultural Resources within the Richmond Harbor Redevelopment Project 11-A, Richmond, Contra Costa County, California*. Prepared by: California Archaeological Consultants, Inc., Banks & Orlins. Prepared for City of Richmond, California March, 1981 (courtesy, Robert Orlins).
"Available newspaper records indicate that the first Native American workers began to move with their families into the Richmond yards during the 1920s [cites the Oakland Tribune, August 8, 1945, the Richmond Daily Independent, March 11, 1954, and the West (Contra Costa) County Times Journal, December 5, 1979]. The Richmond Daily Independent, March 11, 1954 reports, 'Chief Hunt, a past governor of the Acomas has lived here with his wife and family since 1922, when the Acomas first began coming to the Richmond Santa Fe'."

- 32 Chicago Tribune, September 29, 1944, "Women In War Work," by
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"I Am from Mohegan! I Am Not Pequot!": Cultural Persistence in the
Diary of Fidelia Fielding

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Fidelia Fielding was the last native speaker of the Mohegan language, who lived from 1827 to 1908. The fragments of her diary, first published by Frank Speck in 1928 in the Bureau of American Anthropology 43rd Annual Report, were those few that Mrs. Fielding had neglected to give Speck earlier and which had, therefore, escaped the fire at J. D. Prince's home that consumed the bulk of her diary and other writings. Mrs. Fielding's surviving literary output shows evidence of her role as a keeper of Mohegan culture and of the connection between her and the first Mohegan writer, Samson Occom.

The entries in her diary are highly repetitive, terse and usually limited to observations on the weather, her health, and religious declarations. Occasionally she strikes out with vehemence against the injustices of white people's relations with Indians. Two themes recur in her complaints: Indian people's lack of money, and the hypocrisy and presumption of white people. Mrs. Fielding's concerns with discrepancies in fortune and with the disjuncture between a professed Christians' word and deed, bear a rhetorical and cultural relationship to the writings of the eighteenth-century Mohegan minister, Samson Occom. Occom is famed as the author of the first Native American "bestseller," his 1772 sermon preached at the execution of Moses Paul, a fellow Mohegan condemned for the murder of a white man. I have begun this very preliminary investigation by

asking a couple of simple questions: how close were the links--of religion, language, and kinship--connecting Fidelia Fielding with Samson Occom? What comparisons might be made between the native speaker of Mohegan who learned to preach and write in English in the 1740s, and Mrs. Fielding, the last fluent speaker of Mohegan language, who died in 1908?

Some research into Mohegan genealogy quickly establishes the connection between Samson Occom and Fidelia Fielding. Melissa Fawcett is a contemporary Mohegan historian whose The Lasting of the Mohegans: The Story of the Wolf People (1995) memorializes and contextualizes prominent members of the Mohegan Nation. This brief but comprehensive history of the Mohegan people contains a chapter on "recent history," one section of which focuses on four women "culture-keepers," among whom she includes Fidelia A. Hoscott Fielding. The genealogy shows that Mrs. Fielding's maternal grandfather, Gerdon Wyyougs, was the grandson of Samson Occom's sister, Sarah. Gerdon married Martha Uncas and had two children by her, one of whom was Fidelia's mother, Sarah. It was from this grandmother, Martha Uncas, that Fidelia learned to speak the Mohegan language. Tracing the kinship lines, then, Fidelia Fielding was the great-great-grandniece of Samson Occom, the minister.

Despite Occom's removal to Brothertown, New York, in 1784 and subsequently to a new Brothertown in Wisconsin (Blodgett 214), Occom's family line continued among the Connecticut Mohegan, the majority of whom did not remove (Fawcett 19-20). An 1804 census lists 84 Mohegans at home in Connecticut, among them Benoni Occom, Samson's son, who had returned from Brothertown, Samson's brother,

Jonathan, and Eunice Occom, Samson's widowed sister-in-law. His sister, Lucy Occom Tantaquidgeon, never left Connecticut, and died there in 1830 at the age of ninety-nine years (Blodgett 203-4). In the family history of Brothertown Indians there are no Tantaquidgeons, rendering that name a highly localized Connecticut family name (Love 353).

It seems clear, in any case, that the family connection exists unbroken between Samson Occom, the eighteenth-century Methodist missionary and Fidelia Fielding, the Victorian-age Mohegan woman who "didn't participate in Green Corn Festival and meetings of the women in their [Church Sewing] society meetings" (Gladys Tantaquidgeon, qtd in Fawcett 25). Implied in that family connection is a linguistic continuity and a continuity in world view. And in spite of her inclination to stay away from church community celebrations, particularly late in her life (when Gladys Tantaquidgeon would have known her--Gladys was eight or nine years old when Fidelia died), her journal testifies to the fact she was a religious woman as does a sermon she composed sometime before Speck published it in the summer of 1903, in an article co-written with his teacher, J. D. Prince. Not surprisingly, Mrs. Fielding's diary contains similar rhetoric and attitudes to those in her sermon, since they were probably composed within a few years of each other. All the diary fragments that survive were written between December 1902 and January 1905; the sermon itself had to have been composed before the spring of 1903.

In the publication of the text of Mrs. Fielding's sermon, J. D. Prince pronounced Mrs. Fielding's "dialect" to be "evidently in a state of decay." Prince was an linguist whose work compared

Iroquoian languages with Semitic languages, reflecting the old European theory that Native Americans were descended from the lost tribes of Israel (see Roger Williams's Key into the Language of America for a 17th-century example of this notion.) His dismissive attitude, however, could possibly be read as the veiled antagonism of a mentor towards the pupil whose work he feared might eclipse his own; Speck claimed to have seen similar connections between Algonkian and Semitic languages. In fact, the evidence Prince gives for questioning Mrs. Fielding's Mohegan-ness can function in support of the argument that she is an authentic speaker of Mohegan and woman of the Mohegan nation. Prince argued that "she ha[d] apparently lost the 2d pers. pl, as she use[d] the 2d pers. sing. throughout the sermon which [was] intended to be preached to more than one person" (Prince & Speck 1903, 210). However, if Speck represented her words accurately, she indicated clearly herself that "I never preached the sermon in a pulpit; I wrote it to read to people who come to my house" (P & S 197). In the latter years of Mrs. Fielding's life she was reported to be reclusive, a woman of power, even slightly crazy. Visitors to her house were probably rare, and, as the diary's entries show, tended to come one at a time. Also, as I will discuss below, Mohegan women's teaching probably tended to be done one-on-one, as illustrated by Mrs. Fielding's instruction of Gladys Tantaquidgeon in folklore (Fawcett 26).

In his famous execution sermon preached in 1771, Samson Occom deployed a rhetoric of post-Puritan Methodist Christianity; he enthusiastically urged the condemned man to confess and to accept God's grace as the only route to salvation. He worked hard to help

his listeners imagine the torments of Hell and the dreadfulness of "an eternal death to a guilty soul" (Occom 954). His theology derived in large part from his teacher, the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, who was a close associate of the evangelical Methodist preacher, George Whitefield. The words of Mrs. Fielding's diary and of her sermon, written, as she said, "to read to people who come to my house," suggest similar beliefs in rough outline. The fact that she wrote a sermon in the first place suggests her rootedness in an evangelical tradition, where the faithful are obliged to bring others to conversion.

Mrs. Fielding's sermon concentrates on the vigilance of the Devil (*Debe*) (in her diary *Dibi* "is abroad" and "is always working") and the readiness of Hell for people who are "not good," who "lie, steal" and "get drunk." She dwells on the idea that "no one can escape from there, where the fire is terribly hot," that damnation is permanent, and that "No one can help you there" (P & S 202), recalling Occom's illustration of eternal torment. She emphasizes the necessity of right living and repentance to effect personal salvation. The sentence "You must pray that God shall hear you, so that God shall help you" (P & S 202) is repeated twice nearly verbatim, and its theme is the motif interwoven throughout. Her inclusion of drunkenness as one of the primary roads to Hell aligns with Occom's earlier message; Moses Paul committed the crime for which he was being executed under the influence of alcohol, and Occom's sermon owed a large part of its widespread popularity to his theme of temperance.

Underlying the theme of temperance in Occom's sermon, however, is an implicit theme criticizing whites for employing alcohol to manipulate Native people. But because he delivered his sermon to an audience of Indians and non-Indians of all walks of life (everyone turned out for executions, particularly since Moses Paul's was the first hanging in New Haven in twenty years) Occom was obliged to couch his message in terms that could be heard by the segment of the audience for which it was intended without alienating the rest of the listeners. His sermon contains a section addressing the "reverend gentlemen and fathers in Israel"--the clergy of the audience. With an apology that he is "very sensible that I need to be taught the first principles of the oracles of God, by the least of you" (Occom 959), he admonishes them to take better care of their flock, so that such incidents as this hanging should not have to come to pass. Turning to his "poor Kindred," he scolds them for their abuse of alcohol and points out the many ways harm can befall them when drunk, including that they "may make a foolish bargain and be cheated out of all [they have]" (Occom 961). The implied cheaters, of course, are whites with whom the Indians were doing business at the time. Occom takes a daring step near the end of the sermon by criticizing the way whites have brought alcohol into the lives of Native people, but does so in a way that makes his criticism unassailable.

we find in sacred writ, a wo denounced against men who put
their bottles to their neighbours mouth to make them drunk,
that they may see their nakedness: And no doubt there are such
devilish men now in our days, as there were in the days of old.
(Occom 962)

Knowing that no one can argue with Scripture, Occom points the finger at the whites who first brought alcohol among his people.

In Mrs. Fielding's diary the most pervasive idea is that Ma'ndu "helps me because I need him," a theme she returns to with almost daily regularity (Speck 243). She praises Ma'ndu often for physical blessings--eyesight, the ability to get up in the morning, the appetite for food, and a clear mind: "Ma'ndu is good because I can have my thought, that is so!" (Speck 243). The generosity of Ma'ndu is contrasted with the way other people behave: "Ma'ndu is good, he gives me my strength so that I can get up [and] I help myself, because never anyone helps me" (Speck 233). White people receive her particular blame for greed and lack of charity:

Poor white men. Many want all this earth. It can not be for another person [to] have anything to eat, because white men want the money...These people can help someone, but don't help anyone because they are stingy, only! Maybe will they [be sorry] too! (Speck 247)

The theme of whites-as-haves and Indians-as-have-nots emerges strongly in Samson Occom's works as well as in Mrs. Fielding's diary. This is perhaps unsurprising, but it is interesting to compare the rhetoric of each writer. In his book Forked Tongues David Murray has commented helpfully on the intersection he sees "in the early writings of Indians, of their perceptions of their own inferiority and the injustices done to them" (Murray 52). In his chapter on Occom and William Apes, Murray points out how it is possible for Occom to turn the image of Indian as self-blaming victim--"he beats me...because I am an Indian"--into an image of solidarity on the occasion of confronting the painful knowledge that a white missionary was paid in a year what he himself had earned over the last twelve years:

they have used me thus, because I Can't Influence the Indians so well as other missionaries; but I can assure them

I have endeavoured to teach them as well as I know how;--but I *must* Say, "I believe it is because I am a poor Indian." I Can't help that God has made me So; I did not make my self so.-- (Occom 947)

Evidently Occom's relationship with Eleazar Wheelock was marked by the continual necessity of asking for more money than the frugal Wheelock was willing to part with. In March 1774, six years after his return from a highly successful fundraising trip to England on behalf of the Indian Charity School, Occom had to write to Wheelock thus:

If we come to see you this spring, or any Time, you may Depend upon it, we shall expect some of the Charity Money to bear our expences, and it will cost good deal, for the poor Boys have no Horses and they must have Horses, for poor David has already Distroyed his Constitution by running about afoot in the Service, and Jacob's Constitution was kill'd by your rotten Bridge at Windham, he feels the Sad effects of it more and more especially when he travels, and Jo Johnson shall not go too far afoot, best for him to take care of his Health in Time,--If I shou'd preach all the way up to you to bear my expences I cou'd not get up in two months, and it woud be no thanks to you, my allowance is just about half support to my Family & Visitors last year was heavy [very?] expensive year to me, we had Several Congresses at my house about Western affairs, and we had much sickness, and very Dry Summer, and very hard succeeding Winter. I am much behind hand, Suitable Salutations to all and Duty to yourself I am Rev'd and Hon'd Sir

Your most unworthy Servant

Samson Occom

Occom's frustration is palpable, and his language barely holds in check the sense that Wheelock, the holder of the pursestrings, is largely to blame for Occom's difficulties.

But there may be yet another dimension to the connection between Samson Occom's eighteenth-century mission and Mrs. Fielding's religious views and rhetoric; her insistence on her worship of the divine being (Ma'ndu) despite her social withdrawal from the church

community might have been as much a political as it was a religious assertion. By the 1820s, the decade of Fidelia Hoscott's birth, the Mohegans, like other eastern tribes, had suffered thirty years of heavy encroachment and land theft by whites, as well as pressure from the new federal government to move westward. The government's Removal Policy cited the danger "uncivilized" and "un-Christianized" Indians posed to white citizens (Fawcett 20). In order to disarm the government of reasons to move the Mohegans, in 1831 the Mohegans founded the Indian Congregational Church of Montville (Connecticut) with an associated day school. Thus the Mohegans "proved" their high level of civilization and Christianity with the activities housed in these community edifices, built on land donated by Occom's sister, Lucy Occom Tantaquidgeon, and her daughter and granddaughter, Lucy Tantaquidgeon Teeecomwas and Cynthia Teeecomwas Hoscott (Fawcett 21). Most likely, during her formative years, Fidelia was taught that Mohegan retention of their hereditary land hinged upon this "proof" of their civilization and Christianity, put forward mostly through the energy and generosity of the nation's women.

Fidelia Fielding's own diary may be regarded as an extension of this proof; it is the work of a literate woman whose rhetoric is Christian yet whose language and self-image are insistently Mohegan. The journal entry from which the title of this paper is taken similarly reflects this emphasis on place; Mrs. Fielding's angry assertion that she is "from Mohegan" and "not Pequot" is a declaration of the cultural identity she derives from her right to live there. "Anyone saying I am Pequot he is a continual liar, that is so!," she continues: "White men think [they] know all things. Half

[the things they are] saying not are so" (Speck 247). Speck's subtitle on the published fragments of her journal, "A Mohegan-Pequot Diary," stands in ironic juxtaposition to what the Mohegans know about themselves. The linguistic and anthropological point of view of J. D. Prince and Frank Speck provided their reasons for linking Mohegan and Pequot, although Pequot oral historians have remembered the reasons for Mohegan independence from the Pequots since Uncas parted ways with Sassacus in about 1635 (Fawcett 12).

Another interesting question is whether there is a difference in the way culture is maintained and transmitted by Mohegan men and women. Melissa Fawcett sketches the image of the traditional matriarch, whose practice it was to pass on her knowledge of herbal lore to a young woman chosen from the generation of her grandchildren. In her construction of the picture she quotes Gladys Tantaquidgeon, who was Fidelia Fielding's apprentice: "here in my recollection, the women were the ones who gathered the plants and prepared the medicines" (Fawcett 26). At the time of the publication of Fawcett's book, Gladys Tantaquidgeon was already ninety-five years old. Much earlier in her life she had published some of her own anthropological work, having studied at the University of Pennsylvania under Frank Speck, whom she had probably met through Mrs. Fielding. Her anthropological interest also lay in traditional Native medicine practices; she published A Study of Delaware Indian Medicine Practice and Folk Beliefs in 1942 and Mohegan Medicinal Practices, Weather-Lore and Superstition in 1928, in the same volume where Speck published Fidelia Fielding's diary. When she republished the two studies together in a single volume of her own work entitled

Folk Medicine of the Delaware and Related Algonkian Indians (1972), she wrote an introduction showing the probable kinship between the "wolf people of the Delaware" and the Connecticut Mohegan, justifying the inclusion of the two studies in one volume. At the end of the introduction she thanks her informants, living and dead. Strikingly in contrast (or perhaps it is in complement?) to Melissa Fawcett's assertion of the women as harvesters of herbs and practitioners of herbal medicine, Gladys Tantaquidgeon says, "To my brother Chief Harold Tantaquidgeon, I am indebted for much of the information on the utilitarian applications of plants, which he learned from our father, John Tantaquidgeon" (Tantaquidgeon 66). Gladys had herself been a student of herbal medicine lore since the age of five years. Her teachers were her great aunt, Emma Baker, and two other elder Mohegan women, all of whom she called "grandmother," out of respect for their age and wisdom (Fawcett 26). The puzzle is whether there might have been different sets of knowledge transmitted to her from her father via her brother, and from the three "grandmothers" of her youth. Or was there perhaps a discrete task in the gathering and preparation of medicines, and another task in the recording or memorizing of the lore by her father and brother? The grandmothers had to have memorized what they knew about plants--but was it different from what the men could teach?

Perhaps the difficulty lies with Fawcett's exclusive image of women as keepers of herbal lore. Harold Blodgett's biography of Samson Occom tells something of the holdings of Occomabilia in the archives of Dartmouth College, the transmogrified Indian Charity School for which Occom had worked so hard and raised so much money in

the 1760s. In the collection are fragments of Occom's diary as well as a "photostat of Occom's recipes for sickness," dated 1754 (Blodgett 33). Herbal lore, it seems, was not the exclusive province of women in Mohegan culture, even in Samson Occom's day. And Occom's act of committing the recipes to paper speaks to the belief in written preservation of oral lore, present even in that earlier generation of Mohegans. It also speaks to the fact that literacy, and therefore written preservation of recipes, was possible for Occom (and for his wife, Mary Fowler Occom) probably because of their close relationship to the Methodist missionary teaching tradition.

Unlike a sermon, a diary is a mundane thing, kept for the memory of the keeper, not for other eyes, in most cases. In Mrs. Fielding's case, particularly, who else was left to understand a journal written in Mohegan? Really, the only audience outside of herself would have been Frank Speck, who had learned the language from her during his childhood; she in turn learned the anthropologist's alphabetic system for writing her native language from Speck. Why did she start to write a journal, and when? Why did she choose to do it in Mohegan? And how did Frank Speck meet Mrs. Fielding in the first place?

These questions remain to be dealt with in another inquiry; looking at the work Gladys Tantaquidgeon and Frank Speck did together may also illuminate our understanding of Mohegan cultural survival in the dominant mainstream of academia. Gladys Tantaquidgeon's life bridges the time between Fidelia Fielding and Melissa Fawcett; she has been active in studying and preserving Mohegan culture and is thus another important culture keeper. Melissa Fawcett foregrounds the Mohegan concern for cultural persistence in the dedication of her

book Lasting of the Mohegans: "to Medicine Woman Dr. Gladys Tantaquidgeon & all of those who came before her for passing on these lessons." She ends the dedication with Dr. Tantaquidgeon's own words:

I seemed always to be working against time. So many of our old people were dying and their knowledge went with them. Something had to be done to preserve a record of their way of life...[My goal has always been] knowing that this information is going to be passed on to future generations.
(Fawcett 2)

Fidelia Fielding's diary reflects the same concern with passing on knowledge, particularly in her choice to write in Mohegan language. As its last native speaker she did her best to preserve the daily usages of her language, if not for other speakers, at least for those who might recover and value its fragments.

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Reflections on Using American Indian Autobiographies in the
Teaching of Native Histories

by
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My initial desire to develop a course on American Indian autobiography stemmed from constructive and positive experiences I had while teaching general, introductory courses in Native history. Those experiences were a direct result of earlier interest in the topic which came from The Newberry Library's McNickle Center seminars on American Indian history, oral literatures, and autobiography, as well as from my work with the Department of Indian Studies, Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, Regina, SK, during a sabbatical leave of absence in 1992-1993.

Upon my return to Kenyon College after sabbatical in Saskatchewan, I developed two new courses: the first was a comparative United States-Canadian Indian/Native history course; and the second was a seminar on North American Indian life and culture through Canadian and United States Native autobiography. The comparative course was a lecture-discussion class for forty students, while the seminar, which I've taught yearly since 1993, was a more intensive discussion format, relying on explication of the autobiographies, and in-depth discussions of both the assigned autobiography and broader themes in given tribal and more general trends in Indian history. The seminar was designed to introduce students to a critical examination of Native autobiography as a way of illuminating both individual and collective experiences in

history, fully realizing the caveat that one person's individual story is not representative of all. Thus, in the autobiography seminar, students realized the power of autobiography to place a "human face on history," while appreciating its inability to duplicate the critical contextual, and analytical elements of "hard" political history and ethnohistory. Recognizing this, I sensed it was incumbent upon the instructor to supply as much of this as possible so as to develop historical context to frame life stories.'

Students in my first autobiography seminar were juniors and seniors, history and literature majors for the most part, with a smattering of students from anthropology, physical sciences, and the humanities: religion, modern European languages, and philosophy and politics. Most of the students had prior work in history or anthropology. With a concentration on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, I began the seminar not with an oral history, but rather with a written text, fully realizing the pedagogical controversy that surrounded this choice. Nonetheless, arguing that I had to start somewhere, I began with William Apess, Son of the Forest, recognizing that I also had equivalent choices, although slightly younger by a few years, in some of the writings of two Canadian Christianized Natives, Peter Jones' Life and Journal of Kah-ke-wa-quo-no (Rev. Peter Jones, Wesleyan Missionary), and George Copeway, Recollections of a Forest Life; or, the Life and Travels of...George Copeway. Both were Natives converted by missionary efforts and their accounts offer views and life stories within the context of Indians who experienced conversion. The difficulty here, for teaching purposes, is that students would not gain the voice of the non-missionized, at least in

the first unit. None the less, I felt it best, after initial discussions on the nature of autobiography, to start with one of the early written texts, and settled on the first known document, William Apess' collection, On Our Own Ground. Barry O'Connell's introduction offers an excellent background for understanding Apess. "A Son of the Forest," Apess' 1829 publication, initially forced students to come to grips with their own stereotypes. "Apess doesn't sound like an Indian," was the very first response I heard from students. Why? Because Apess wrote very much in the spirit of a Second Great Awakening Protestant. That is, to my own students, a Pequot with strong Methodist leanings couldn't possibly be a "real" Indian. Enter, then, the first challenge: who is an Indian? A Pequot? By whose definition? For many of my own students, there was surprise expressed at starting our nineteenth century unit with a New England Indian.

Here is where, in instruction, themes from geography, chronology, and Native history needed development. The idea of Indians as some kind of distant, trans-Mississippi Western people needed to be overcome through an explanation of how and why that popular image existed in the first place. Then, background material was presented on Eastern Indian peoples in the contact and Revolutionary eras. From MiMac to Passamaquody, to Pequot, to Innu, to Huron and Iroquois to Abenaki, to Shinnecock and Mattinecock, among others, I used a large map of the Northeast around which students gathered. With the map as focal point, and appropriate material through informal lectures, discussions, and the distribution of xeroxed primary source materials, the students started to better

understand the persistent presence of American Indians throughout the Eastern part of United States and Canada.

Apess put us on the road to discussing these issues even as students saw the difficulties in trying to peg a Native person into a fixed chronological framework. Every time students assumed this attitude, I asked them if their sense of recognition of change over time was perhaps tinged with a romantic desire for Native peoples to remain fixed, outside of historical change in the post-contact era. We discussed the idea of "White man's Indian," and I asked students to read aloud a wonderfully poignant poem by Robert Gibb, "Saying Farewell to the Displays in the Carnegie Museum." Gibb's poem focuses on trans-Mississippi Indians, but the spirit of the poem nonetheless is accurate for the students' comments on Apess, for fixing and locking Native people into time, refusing, in the name of romantic imagery, to recognize change over time.

Fixed in 19th century niches,
Stolid as though carved from wood.
They were like the movies, all wrong
Even when rightly arrayed

Certainly, the essays in On Our Own Ground do not represent a 'typical' Pequot. In his prolific and eloquent writing, in his attempt to legitimize the Indian past with the Lost Tribes of Biblical Israel, and in his profoundly introspective thoughts on salvation, Apess is more than an average member of the Pequot remnant in New England. Yet recognizing this, students also came to grips with broader themes in history: King Philip's War (for which his "Eulogy on King Philip" in the anthology provoked their thought); the evangelical Second Awakening in the North; and the linkage of Pequot

history in colonial New England to Apess' remnant. Tangential historical issues--Apess' description of his enlistment in United States forces in the War of 1812, racial tension, and the church crises mirroring the democratic mood of Jacksonian America--all added to the effectiveness of Apess as a source. But more than anything else, Apess shed light on a unique life story of an amazing individual; his story offered broader light on American Indian history for New England of the nineteenth century, an important topic in itself, since most students do not think of New York State or New England Indians after the colonial era.

"I was nothing but a poor ignorant Indian and thought the people would not hear me. But my mind was the more distressed, and I began to pray more frequently to God to let this 'cup pass from me.' In this manner was I exercised day by day; but in the evening I would find myself in our little meetings exhorting sinners to repentance and striving to comfort the saints."

Apess' use of Christianity to criticize past treatment of Indians allows him discourse with a predominantly White society which understood the language of evangelical Protestantism, even as he affirms, in a variety of ways, the Indian past and Indian character. On Our Own Ground is a source I found effective, provided students had an advanced rather than an elementary understanding of American and American Indian history.

My next task was to expose students to a more traditional Indian source. I experimented with a number of works, such as Maria Chona's Papago Woman, Ignatia Broker's Night Flying Woman, and, finally, Tiana Bighorse's, Bighorse the Warrior. Each source, in its own way, allowed students to challenge the very notion of autobiography, in the traditional western sense, as they analyzed the different ways a

life story is preserved and told. Unlike Apess, Maria Chona's story in Papago Woman, is not a voluntary process of self revelation. While Chona's story, told to anthropologist Ruth Underhill between 1931 to 1933, is written in the first person, it centers more on her Papago community. Reaching into the oral traditions of the Papago community, her life is not the center of her story; instead, she tells the story of her own life as she tells the story of others, and of Papago community, continuity, and tradition. Yet if Papago Woman is Chona's story of a world without white contact, it is also a story the methodology for which students should note and question. Her life and that of her community percolate through an interpreter who then translates Chona to Ruth Underhill. Chona's story is thus presented to a white anthropologist who admits that Chona's life has been taken out of conversational context. Chona's life story is especially important for women's issues, as well as for her perception of her own medicine and power. Whether or not material in her autobiography was controlled by Chona through the way she gave answers to Underhill, or whether Underhill took editorial prerogative in editing Chona's life story primarily as a way of introducing it to a mainly white audience, are problems that students were forced to confront as they grappled with issues of authenticity as well as professional ethics of gathering and using Indian materials primarily for the education of non-Indians.

In considering other traditional lives I used Igantia Broker's Night Flying Woman, as well as Life Lived Like a Story, edited by Julie Cruikshank, which assess the life stories of Yukon women elders. Cruikshank's work is technically proficient, but my best

results were with Night Flying Woman, a quiet, steady best-seller from the Minnesota Historical Society. It is the story of Ignatia Broker's great-great-grandmother who experienced the disruption of her people's traditional lifeways once white contact and reservation life on White Earth changed the Ojibwa land base. Unlike Papago Woman in which Chona's story passed through two other people, Broker, the great-great granddaughter, recognized the impact of massive social change with Minnesota's Ojibwa population, and thus understood the conscious need to preserve the stories and histories of the past.

My two, born and raised in Minneapolis, are of that generation of Ojibway who do not know what the reservation means, or the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or the tangled treaties and federal--so called--Indian laws which have spun their webs for a full century around the Native People, the First People of this land.

Broker (d. 1987) fully grasped the significance of change, recognizing that many urban Native children made no distinction between tribes. They do not say, 'I am Ojibway,' or 'I am Dakota,' or 'I am Arapaho.' but they say 'I am an Indian.' This observation is telling in its recognition of the massive forces, over several generations, that influence urban Indian life. For this reason, Broker understood that tribal identity was important, and thus her story of her great-great-grandmother is once again, the story of a discrete individual, and equally the story of a community of which Oona, the Night-Flying Woman, was a part. It is a fairly effective book for teaching about nineteenth and early twentieth century Ojibwa life and customs. Students realize that it is told differently from Chona's story; in lieu of the professional anthropologist who controlled the autobiographical content through command of questions

asked of Chona, Night Flying Woman asserts an oral tradition within a family which transmits the strength of cultural heritage in affirming the identity of Oona as Ojibwa, woman, and mother. Disruption and change came to Oona, but in clinging to Ojibwa tradition, there is an attempt to construct and frame an identity that has links to the past as Oona witnessed change in her own life. Yet, Oona knew that the dynamic of change over time did make a difference, more so for those who came after her:

'My children and grandchildren are doing well in the way of the white strangers,' thought Oona, 'they are farmers, they are teachers, and they work in the factories that make many new tools--even the airplanes that crowd the birds from the sky. And they are with honor, for they have fought the white man's wars. Because of this, part of my dust lies in the foreign lands.'

The retention of tradition and of stories asserted and affirmed identity. Yet even so, as my students read Broker's account of Oona, written in the third person ("Oona thought about the Ojibway children... 'Maybe they do not care,' thought Oona. If this is so, then our history will be lost") they quite correctly read the account, in part, as a somewhat romanticized version of the historical past, raising questions about how keeping alive the past can in fact come to terms with massive historical upheaval, especially away from reservations.

No one autobiography can do justice to the deeply textured and complex diversity of Native peoples. That having been said, my students, many of whom raised questions about the somewhat romanticized version of the Ojibwa past offered via Broker, nonetheless appreciated it. Yet, if I had to single out one traditional autobiographical account that made a deep impact on

students, it would be Tiana Bighorse's account of her father in Bighorse the Warrior, an evocative Navajo tale of Gus Bighorse (c. 1846-1939). Once again, a filtration process is present: Tiana Bighorse recounted the story of Bighorse to Noel Bennet, the editor, in her father's voice; the editor transcribed it, attempting to be as faithful to the integrity of the story as possible, locking it into print, solidifying those stories Tiana heard as a young girl of Bighorse's life. Spanning the years before the Long Walk, through the New Deal policy of livestock reduction program, and ending with Bighorse's final years and sense of closure the autobiography also touches on the rapid pace of change that took place for the Navajo Nation within his own lifetime. The powerful influence of family is always evident in this account. Thinking about the death of his parents and the significance of family, Bighorse states:

Now I understand what it is to be poor. Nobody had ever talked to me about this, so I just have to think about it myself. If somebody don't have nothing, that don't mean they're poor. If you lose both your mom and dad, that means you're poor.

Supplemented with additional analytical material about the history of the Navajo Nation, Bighorse the Warrior is a powerfully effective source for teaching. There is no romantic notion of the past, only that the past does have linkage to the present. The authenticity of Bighorse's life and character offer insights into both Navajo existence as it changes over time, from resistance and hiding, to the Long Walk, to tribal decimation, to reservation life and to New Deal federal government policy. "I can't live without my horses. But my kids tell me my name is still my name and I am fortunate to have those horses all my life. Now I am old, they tell

me, so just let them go." Finally, there is something else: Bighorse's sense of humanity and pride, his understanding of family and Nation, and his final acceptance of his life. His last vision, in the late 1930s, was of a man with white hair and a white beard, and a white gown. (How much this is a reflection of Christian imagery is a question that students inevitably pose).

He wants me to go where I won't ever suffer from old age...I think there's another world for these old people. He wants me to go, there, so I'll be going over there, and that will be my last journey."

Bighorse's life story lacks the elements of gender relations seen in Chona's account, or in Night Flying Woman; yet, if supplemented with material from other traditional autobiographies, Bighorse can be a superb teaching source due to its sense of history that centers on Bighorse while incorporating broader strands of Navajo history.

To emphasize a more traditional way of life with one influenced by two cultures, I asked students to compare Polingaysi Qoyawayma (Elizabeth Q. White), No Turning Back: A Hopi Indian Woman's Struggle to Live in Two Worlds with Bighorse. Born to a traditional Hopi family, yet Christianized and educated by Mennonite missionaries, Qoyawayma's "as told to" autobiography, deals with her separation from the traditional Hopi, her career as a teacher of Native children, and her attempts to reconcile the traditional past with her new-found present world of education and teaching. Her self-doubts, her initial rejection of her heritage, her coming of age through Mennonite education, and her quest for reconciliation of her own identity as Indian woman and teacher, offer an important glimpse into the tensions of change. As Qoyawayma explains of her childhood, "She

did not know the missionaries were on the mesa to teach the Hopis the sinfulness of their ways, to lead them from their ancient beliefs into the white man's ways of worship." Yet over time, she came to find herself, to reconcile both past and present, change and continuity, albeit through a painful passage. Students appreciated Qoyawayma's dilemma even as they sensed the uprooting impact of missionary education. Because of the difference in both life journeys and gender, students appeared to gain much in comparing and contrasting Big Horse and No Turning Back.

Another autobiography that has the 'two worlds' components, although without the more apparent (at least on the surface) painful search that Qoyawayma asserts in her work, is From the Deep Woods to Civilization, by Charles Eastman. I've had success in pairing this with No Turning Back, just as in introductory courses I found students eager to critically analyze Eastman against Booker T. Washington's Up From Slavery. More than any one late nineteenth and early twentieth century autobiography I have used, Eastman's work teaches by what it says, as well as by what it doesn't say: that is, the inner tension of identity recognized by Qoyawayma is muted in Eastman, yet is nonetheless pronounced and clear. Eastman praises a "gallant Custer" in the same sentence he condemns the Sioux for defeating the general. It is perhaps the most overt expression of his internalized attitudes for this stage of his life, but there are others, as well. Eastman's life story is as carefully controlled as it is self-conscious. The immediate, surface portrait is that of a man who, in the spirit of Horatio Alger-Benjamin Franklin-Booker T.

Washington, is self-made, pulling himself up from "the deep woods," even as he makes moral and religious turns toward Christianity which, in the spirit of Apess, he uses as a foundation to criticize the unjust treatment of Indians. Yet even here, the self-control--a Victorian, male sensibility of the nineteenth century--either masks or overshadows what might have been deeper and angrier feelings about the massacre at Wounded Knee. As a physician who worked on the Pine Ridge reservation where this took place, Eastman states:

All this was a severe ordeal for one who had so lately put all his faith in the Christian love and lofty ideals of the white man. Yet I passed no hasty judgement and was thankful that I might be of some service and relieve even a small part of the suffering.

Eastman does not confront the issue head on; rather, because of his education and acculturation into white society, he deliberately mutes his stronger emotional feelings in writing for a white audience, desiring his distance from the traditional Sioux at Wounded Knee. For the late 1890s and early twentieth century, it is clear that Eastman molded his own concept of selfhood, even as he deliberately subdued, disguised, or transformed an earlier self from his adolescent traditional background. Students grappled with this sensibility, just as they tried to assess Eastman's concluding statement, which is, I think, the hallmark of the book. Using Christian morality to criticize white mistreatment of Native peoples, Eastman offers this final judgement:

I am an Indian; and while I have learned much from civilization...I have never lost my Indian sense of right and justice. I am for development and progress along social and spiritual lines, rather than those of commerce, nationalism, or material efficiency. Nevertheless, so long as I live, I am an American.

Students in my courses latched on to this more than anything else in Eastman's book. It provided them with material to understand what they saw, borrowing from W.E.B. Dubois, as a reconcilable "double-consciousness" within Eastman. Equally, it presented students with a means of appreciating Eastman. His autobiography offers enough material--contentious as well as contemplative--for students to use in a productive manner. I have no doubts that Eastman's autobiography could easily be employed with any number of other Native autobiographies, yet from my own experience, contrasting him with either Qoyawayma or Bighorse offered students a provocative challenge.

Eastman obtained his education through his own free will, just as Qoyawayma left of her own accord, enticed but not coerced, by the Mennonite missionaries on the Hopi reservation. Autobiographical works by Basil Johnson and Francis LaFlesche present still other perspectives on Indian education. In Indian School Days, Johnson, a Canadian Ojibwa, poignantly recounts his education in a Catholic residential school in Ontario. In relating his experiences Johnson, who started his residential school education in 1939, focuses on the school's preoccupation with order, regimentation, and the obedience to time:

Bells and whistles, gongs and clapper represent everything connected with sound management--order, authority, discipline, efficiency, system, organization, schedule, regimentation, conformity--and may in themselves be necessary and desirable. But they also symbolize conditions, harmony and states that must be established in order to have efficient management: obedience, conformity, dependence, subservience, uniformity, docility, surrender. In the end it is the individual who must be made to conform, who must be made to bend to the will of another.

Despite this, Johnson's memoir is an inspiring tribute to how Johnson and his peers kept their essential humanity and Indianness in the face of this rigid educational system. It is, finally, a gentle memoir, sad in spots, joyous in others, but more than anything else, an assertion of the special affinity that the schoolboys had for each other even as they did everything in their power to resist and even subvert the very educational system that existed to transform them. My own students responded favorably to the book, but recognized that more powerfully traumatic experiences of, for example, the Carlisle School, also existed. Such films as In the White Man's Image and White Man's Ways served to both complement and supplement Johnson's bittersweet account, a story more, finally, of triumph than of oppression in the face of adversity.

Another source, briefer and more subdued but of equal power, is LaFlesche's The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe: a first hand account of life at a Presbyterian mission school in Nebraska in the 1860s. On one level the work is a classic American Indian autobiography. Although autobiographical, LaFlesche understands the broader, universal elements in his story, dedicating the book to "the Universal Schoolboy." For all that, the narrative informs readers of both growth and change while the students try their best to retain and assert, by subterfuge and secrecy, their own Omaha traditions. The point here, as in certain other key autobiographies, is the retention, in one way or another, of an Indian culture in the face of transformative education. Again, because of its poignant, bittersweet quality students connected with the book as they did with Johnson. However, it is imperative to

place the two books within the broader context of federal and missionary education policies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Both Johnson and LaFlesche concentrate on the male experience to incorporate the experience of native women to provide a female counterbalance. I relied on extracts from Celia Haig-Brown's Canadian account, Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School. Her accounts lack the poignant bittersweet memories of both Johnson and LaFlesche, and remind students that the residential school experience, in many instances, was harsh, coercive, punitive, and vindictive toward Indian students. While Resistance and Renewal is not necessarily a corrective to LaFlesche and Johnson, it is an important source that attunes students of the negative, even cruel aspects of the residential experience. Guilt and shame about sexuality were taught to Shuswap girls in a British Columbia Catholic residential school:

"What really confused me was if intercourse was a sin, why are people born?...It took me a really long time to get over the fact that...I've sinned: I had a child."

In discussing this experience, we need to inform students what happened to the schools over time; thus I incorporated a unit on perpetuating and preserving Native traditions in the current Haskell University, and brought in material on tribal colleges from the north, in Saskatchewan, to the Southwest, in Arizona.

To bring more of Canadian sources into the course, I assigned Maria Campbell's Halfbreed in which the author recounts her quest for identity in the post-World War II era. Campbell takes the reader on her own coming-of-age quest for identity in countryside and city, as

she informs the reader of the more traditional ways of Cheechum, her Cree great-grandmother, who provided stability and wisdom for her. Campbell, whose activities take her to community organizing and to politics for the Metis, notes that her past idealism in political action gave way to a more prudent realization "that an armed revolution of Native people will never come about; even if such a thing were possible, what would we achieve? We would only end up oppressing someone else." The purpose of using Campbell is to open up the historical, legal and cultural status of the Canadian Metis, and to lead students into a discussion, once again, although this time for a Canadian context, of how, and by whom "Indian" is determined and defined. More than anything else, Campbell offers a study in finding identity. I distributed copies of the Indian Act, as well as some primary sources from Louis Riel, discussed briefly by Campbell, and asked students to read ancillary material in The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis, edited by Jaqueline Peterson and Jennifer Brown. I supplemented this material with thoughtfully produced films from the National Film Board of Canada, such as Ikwe, and Mistress Madeline. The former reenacts the meeting between a Scots agent of the Bay Company and Ojibwa in the 1770s; his wife, Ikwe, selected for him by an Ojibwa chief, eventually leaves her white husband, and encourages the daughter of that union to escape from a smallpox epidemic, telling her to never forget that she is the offspring of two peoples. Mistress Madeline, which takes place in a Bay Company trading post in Rupertsland in the 1850s, focuses on how and why a "country wife," Madeline, is abandoned by her white husband who returns to the post with a wife from England, and how Madeline

painfully rediscovers her Metis heritage. As equally useful for students in considering the Canadian Metis is Christine Welch's film autobiography, Woman of the Shadows, which traces the actual journey to the Metis past by Welch, who discovered that her own family hid her Metis heritage from her. The entire point of developing the material in this unit on Campbell is to get students to assess not only issues of identity, but as well, to consider the broader meaning of mettissage, and to try to understand the comparative differences between the U.S. and Canada in governmental policy as well as in the self-perception by indigenous peoples on this issue.

The last reading for the course was a difficult one to select. I wanted something that had contemporary issues, yet I also wanted a source that linked itself to the past, connecting past and present. Some of my colleagues in the disciplines of history or women's studies believe this kind of contemporary, or recent history can best be assessed by offering students visions of American Indian life through Mary Crow Dog's Lakota Woman, or her latest book, Ohitika Woman, written under her newer name, Mary Brave Bird. I tried Ohitika Woman once; while it may have recounted one woman's experiences and views, it lacked an historical depth that I believed was appropriate for the course. Over half of my students qualified their thought on this book with cautionary statements about its overzealous concentration on alcohol abuse which over-shadowed other significant issues. My final selection, then, was Janet Campbell Hale, Bloodlines: Odyssey of a Native Daughter, which connected the recent past to the historical past, even as it pointed to issues of metissage in the United States. A marvelous passage in Hale's

introductory remarks provoked my class into the broader discussion of the meaning of identity:

Why not be like other Americans? Like the Irish or Italian communities, for instance, who have big St. Patrick's Day or Columbus Day celebrations once a year, and then, for the most part, forget about their ethnic identities. The most important difference is this: if Irish or Italian culture dies in America, it really isn't that big a deal. They still exist in Italy and Ireland. Not so with us. There is no other place. North America is our country."

In the first part of the book, Hale discusses her own life; in the second part she describes her heritage, which is especially important for the linkage between white and red. The sections on Dr. John McLoughlin, the Hudson Bay Company chief factor in the Oregon country who married an Indian woman, come full circle as Hale discusses her own discovery and rediscovery of her ancestry through her personal trials, her writing and her travels, regaining her roots in both time and place. Bloodlines is very much a woman's autobiography, even as it is simultaneously a study in issues of mettissage in the United States.

From ancestral homeland, to feeling compelled to be an Indian, to Hale's daughter having the option of "choosing, as I never could, whether or not to be an Indian," the book touches on a range of issues probing broader themes of American Indian and United States history. Student responses to Bloodlines were as provocative and as engaging as their reactions to From the Deep Woods. And precisely because Hale brings the reader full circle in matters of ancestry, connecting, in her conclusion, past and present history and identity, even as she humorously mentions (and dismisses) the New Age notion of Hollywood's romanticized and distorted vision of rediscovering Indian

identity in the film "Thunderheart," it is an appropriate book with which to end the course.

Endnote

1. Autobiographies cited for the course include, in order of their appearance, William Apess, On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, A Pequot, ed. Barry O'Connell (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992); Ruth Underhill, Papago Woman (Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, 1985); Ignatia Broker, Night Flying Woman (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1983); Tiana Bighorse, Bighorse the Warrior (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1990); Julie Cruikshank, Life Lived Like a Story: Life Sources of Three Yukon Elders (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1991); Polingaysi Qoyawyma (Elizabeth Q. White), No Turning Back: A Hopi Woman's Struggle to Live in Two Worlds (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1964); Charles Alexander Eastman (Ohiyesa), From the Deep Woods to Civilization: Chapters in the Autobiography of an Indian (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977); Basil Johnson, Indian School Days (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989); Francis La Flesche, The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978); Celia Haig - Brown, Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School (Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1991); Mary Crow Dog, Lakota Woman (New York: Harper, 1991); Mary Brave Bird, Ohitika Woman (New York: Harper, 1993); Janet Campbell Hale, Bloodlines: Odyssey of a Native Daughter (New York: Harper, 1993). Robert Gibb's poem, cited in the context of Apess' autobiography, is "Saying Farewell to the Displays in the Carnegie Museum," Poetry (September, 1994). Works dealing with Native autobiography include H. David Brumble, American Indian Autobiography (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Arnold Krupat, For Those Who Come After (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); and Hertha Wong, Sending My Heart Back Across the Years: Tradition and Innovation in Native American Autobiography (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). I am indebted to, and am especially grateful for the insights of a recent Kenyon graduate, Jennifer R. Sauers, "Finding Others Inside Oneself: The Quest for Definition in Native American Literature," Wittenberg Review, 3 (Fall 1992), 65 - 82.

Where the Truth Lies: Constructions of the Self in *Bloodlines* and
Halfbreed

by
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In explaining how a potential publicity sketch about herself grew into a passage in her novel The Jailing of Cecilia Capture, Janet Campbell Hale makes the same common sense distinction between fiction and autobiography that many of her readers are likely to make:

fiction comes from the deeper, darker places in the writer's soul, the same places that dreams come from, and, as in the making of dreams, the unconscious makes use of bits and pieces as it weaves its fiction tapestry: autobiography, yes, if there is anything there that can be used, and other people's works, both fiction and fact, all that you experience (11-12).

Had she labeled the result of this process "autobiography," she asserts, "the whole passage would be a pack of lies" (11). Autobiography, then, refers to (and is, by implication, accountable to) a reality outside of itself; fiction does and is not. Autobiography may be the germ from which fiction grows, but the two are different in kind.

The distinction between fictive construct and verifiable event, which underlies Campbell Hale's definition of the two genres, was also at the heart of some of our seminar members' reactions to Bloodlines, Odyssey of a Native Daughter, nowhere as eloquently expressed as when one of our number exclaimed, in mingled exasperation and perplexity, "But what if she [Campbell Hale] is a pathological liar?" That question has stayed with me in the months

since the seminar because it is so essential to how we judge this particular work or any work that we label autobiography. What if the writer is lying? What, in this context, is a lie; what is authentic, and how do we recognize the difference?

Yet one wonders why the unconscious of which Campbell Hale speaks does not operate in the creation of autobiography, why such a narrative isn't also a fictive tapestry. It is difficult to see "experience" as distinct from its interpretation, independent of the position of the teller or viewer. Could one ever expect Campbell Hale or her mother or her niece to tell the same story? How could one ever secure an unambiguously authoritative account? Even the most cursory survey of scholarship on autobiographies furthers the sense that the categories of truth and falsehood, fiction and autobiography need not be as mutually exclusive as Campbell Hale claims. Gretchen Bataille and Kathleen Sands assert that "American Indian women's autobiography" "purports to be verifiable, but...subordinates fact to the essential truth of the subject's life" (13). This statement implicitly raises the issue of the origin of this "essential truth," but does not take its implication to its logical conclusion: that such a truth is not inherent but created, an imaginative construction, a fiction. Even Albert Stone, who claims one can use "historical methods" to verify the descriptive accuracy of events within autobiographies, asserts that doing so will only allow the reader to "determine at what level of literalness or metaphoric utterance a given writer is operating" (12). Perhaps, then, one source of the mixed reactions with which the members of our seminar group greeted Bloodlines was the absence of the biographical,

extra-textual information necessary to begin to make such distinctions; we couldn't, as is possible with a figure like Richard Wright, use the "facts" (or a biographer's alternative interpretations) to articulate the ways in which Black Boy is blatantly metaphorical, the ways in which Wright uses his own life to carry out political and social analysis, to depict what he sees as the archetypal situation of a black man in the pre-civil rights south. I think, however, that the source of my own uneasiness with Bloodlines lies neither in my need to ascertain verifiable "truth" or to distinguish between the literal and the metaphoric; my ambivalence derives from the nature of the self Campbell Hale represents, its relations with others, and with the narrative resolutions that the work enacts. I believe, quite simply, that I (and my fellow seminar members) wanted other truths told, other stories created.

Campbell Hale's imaginative constructions--and the reasons some of them are so disquieting--become the more distinct when held up to those created by another autobiographer, Maria Campbell. Both Bloodlines and Halfbreed tell the stories of women of mixed heritage, the products of the complex web of intermarriages that began when the first fur traders came in contact with Native women; both delineate the effects of alcoholism, violence, and family dysfunction that derive in large part from the radically unequal positions that Metis and Indians have occupied in the larger Canadian and American cultures. Though Halfbreed shows Campbell's own participation in the paralysis and the self-destructive behavior that she sees destroying her people, the narrative creates a radically different set of actions than does Bloodlines. One of the most important is the

creation of Maria Campbell as a relational self and as a political activist, who, at narrative's end, derives her identity from her participation in the life of and in her continuing work for the Metis people--one aspect of which is to explain them to the presumably non-Metis reader. Thus, she carefully places the dysfunction she delineates in the context of white behavior and Canadian policies toward the Metis, in their status as non-treaty people, in their consequent loss of land and economic base, and in the failure of indigenous movements such as the Riel Rebellion to redress these problems.

Halfbreed locates the beginnings of this adult identity in Campbell's early family and community life, whose vitality, warmth, and conflicts she renders with a detail and affection so strong as to forestall any trivialization of that life; in so doing, she creates the connections that she asserts. Campbell describes the interior of her family's log cabin: the smell of moose stew emanating from the stove, the drying hides of animals hanging from the rafters--which her father had hunted and trapped illegally in the national forest--the red rocking chairs he had made. Campbell depicts the variety of people who are the Metis: the French Crees like the Arcands, Villeneuves, Morrisettes; the Scots and English Crees, the Isbisters and the Campbells; and the weddings, wakes, dances, fights, practical jokes, the communal trips in which they take part. Thus, Campbell makes the seeds of her adult self and her current activism lie in the suffering she has shared and in the solidarity she has shown herself experiencing. Such a combination of relation and political consciousness is nowhere as strongly expressed as in the

narrative's portrayal of Campbell's great-grandmother Cheechum, whose refusal to accept Metis defeat, whose pride of identity, and whose supportive relation with her granddaughter are shown to be the primary sources of what that granddaughter becomes. The rest of the autobiography enacts this development, constructing Campbell as a woman whose own identity and whose present struggle to help all poor people unite against government policies is an extension of her early efforts to keep her family together in spite of poverty, demoralization, and intrusive relief agencies. Though that struggle is not yet resolved, Campbell's place in it is.

Campbell Hale's work enacts no such unified, relational construction of self, even though Bloodlines renders its narrator's escape from repeating much of what was most painful about her mother's life: Campbell Hale escapes an abusive husband, gets an education, becomes a writer, has what seems to be a close relation with her children, and connects with her Indian heritage in ways impossible for her mother. The autobiography sets up a developmental agenda--to resolve the "anguished question" of Campbell Hale's life

to understand the pathology of the dysfunction, what made my family the way it was. I examine my own life in part, but reach beyond what I personally know or could know...back along my bloodlines to imagine the people I came from in the context of their own lives and times (xxii).

One of Bloodline's repeated characterizations of Campbell Hale's adult self is the grown child who asks questions about her past and who tries to supply the answers. These answers are, even when forthcoming, typically speculative and provisional, lacking in emotional resolution. Why did the mother whose affection the narrator still craves shut her out of the house and her love? That

this question remains an anguished one can be seen when Campbell Hale recounts a recurring dream in which she, as a grown woman, tries to lie down with her mother, who then leaves the house with her husband, forbidding her daughter to accompany them, leaving her to look at their departing car through the window. Why did that same mother continually assert her daughter's unworthiness, her abnormality? Why did her parents stand by when a grown sister refused to let Campbell Hale inside of her house all one summer, sending plates of food to the shack where the narrator read Baldwin and Wright and wrote poetry? Why was she continually uprooted from school after school, community after community as her parents moved aimlessly from one Northwestern town to another? Even when the narrator does construct some answers, often with the help of psychological theory--that her mother, once almost catatonic with depression, came to turn aggression outward on her daughter instead of inward on herself--such explanations cannot emotionally satisfy reader and writer.

Bloodlines is based on ambivalence so deep as to be irresolvable: it is Campbell Hale's mother who heaped unspeakable abuse on her; yet it is her mother who freed her to write, who told her to tell the truth. The narrative itself enacts, over and over, this ambivalence and irresolution. It is haunted by photographs of what might have been but what was not: Campbell Hale as a laughing round-faced, almond-eyed infant; the family posed happily together in Tijuana. After contemplating such lost opportunities, after spending some time in the hospital with her dying mother, bereft of the possibility of confrontation, reconciliation, even rational conversation--it is her mother's granddaughter and long-term caretaker who has, in many ways,

taken Campbell Hale's place--the narrator concludes: "My mom is gone. In the end there are no resolutions. Only an end" (86).

The truth that Bloodlines produces over and over again is that of Campbell Hale as perpetual outsider, as estranged and self-estranging child:

Here I am--going on forty now--but in my soul's darkest corner I am ever the motherless child, the psychologically tortured girl I used to be, the scapegoat of my troubled, troubled family (55).

When the narrator hears of her mother's final illness and asks a niece why the latter hadn't called her, she suspects that her mother had left instructions that she not be informed; she recalls her mother's orders not to come to her funeral. At the hospital, aware of how often she had not visited, how much her sisters and their children had cared for her mother, Campbell Hale again asserts her own outsidership: "There's nothing I can do [t]here. She is surrounded by her family. She isn't alone. I board my plane" (82). That this position is understandable, though not inevitable can be seen in the narrator's meeting with a niece fifteen years her junior, a woman who is concertedly trying to rebuild relations within a family whose dysfunction she admits. Though the narrator says that she "would like to believe the family has the power to regenerate itself," such a goal is not one in which she feels she can participate: "Once I longed to belong to the family I came from. Not anymore. I'm one of its broken-off pieces now" (xxxiii). The narrator's sense of herself as an alien is enacted on a tribal level as well. Although living on and off the Coeur d'Alene reservation until she was ten and intermittently on Yakima holdings, she asserts

"I don't even know what it's like to have a place in my own tribal community..." (186). When Campbell Hale imagines her paternal grandmother, whose picture she has seen but whom she has never met, her tone is of mingled yearning for and estrangement from an integral culture that she can never experience. She notes that she never spoke an Indian language, though she envied older sisters who had had some knowledge of one as children. The truth she draws from this past is that Coeur d'Alene land, on which two of her sisters and many of their children have now resettled, "is their home; it can never be mine. I will remain, as I have long been, estranged from the land I belong to" (185).

I emphasize such self-representations to show that part of their painfulness derives from the fact that the narrative is so unrelenting in their production; I note, in support of my contention that such truths are not inevitable, episodes that the narrative mentions but that seem not to have been developed because they do not advance the alienation that the autobiography is creating. Consider, for instance, the second half of the passage cited above, in which Campbell Hale asserts that she's never really belonged to the Coeur d'Alene tribe; here she testifies to the importance of living in an "intertribal urban Indian community" (186). One wonders how her story, her self-representation might have changed had she focused on the (presumed) engagement of this substantial portion of her life. The narrator mentions that her father had always returned to the Coeur d'Alene reservation to vote and was engaged in tribal politics all of his life. What would have been the difference in the portrayal of Campbell Hale's absolute estrangement from tribal life

had she delineated such conversations about politics that her father might have had? Campbell Hale notes, in passing, that children on reservations see a great many dead bodies--both animal and human--before they're ten. What might have been the result had the narrator begun to describe the wakes, the funerals she had attended? Finally, I mention an incident in which the family, snowed in at the house of Campbell Hale's father's brother, wait for the temperature to reach its lowest point before the men begin to tell Coyote stories. Was this event an isolated occurrence? If not, would rendering these incidents make life at the margins of Coeur d'Alene territory look a bit more like that represented in Halfbreed? Would the Coeur d'Alene Campbells begin to look more like the Metis Campbells; could the narrator sustain her picture of unmitigated estrangement?

At one point in the narrative, Campbell Hale searches for a place in which she might settle. One possibility is Vancouver, British Columbia, for it feels like "home but without the ghosts of the past--without sisters and nieces and nephews and Indians at every turn who knew one of them or some or all of them" (53). What the narrative does to compensate for the fragmentation and estrangement I have sketched here is to recreate--partly with the aid of historical research--the lives of people Campbell Hale felt she never adequately knew but who do not haunt her as intensely as her immediate family: her maternal grandmother, who was descended from a Kootenay woman, Annie Grizzly and David McLoughlin, the son of Hudson Bay factor John McLoughlin and his Chippewa wife Margaret; the narrator's paternal grandmother, a woman who, according to family tradition and

photographs, had retained Coeur d'Alene ways, which had come to include Catholicism. Again, there are many questions which Campbell Hale cannot answer, even with the aid of a detailed historical context. Was Gram Sullivan, formerly Angeline McLoughlin, so brusque with the dark-skinned narrator because she reminded the older woman of herself? The narrator will never know for sure. Nonetheless, what reconciliation the autobiography achieves occurs in Campbell Hale's recreation of her more distant ancestors. Thus, she can visit the Bear Paw battlefield where her paternal grandmother, a Coeur d'Alene, had been swept up in the Nez Perces' almost successful flight to Canada and feel a part of that place, feel identified with those people:

I felt the biting cold. I was with those people, was part of them. I felt the presence of my grandmother there as though two parts of her met each other that day: the ghost of the girl she was in 1877 (and that part of her will remain forever in that place) and the part of her that lives on in me, in inherited memories of her, in my blood and in my spirit (158).

Even such an exemplary reconnection, however, remains rather abstract, for this relation is made with people whom the narrator hasn't known, but whom she can re-imagine precisely because they don't have the power to haunt her in the ways that her immediate family does. The Bear Paw battlefield becomes a momentary home without the malign ghosts of the narrator's childhood. Though (or perhaps because) she is estranged from her family, from ongoing Coeur d'Alene life, Campbell Hale clings to place, to ancestry, to "the stories, the history, who we came from" (185). She cannot, however, render the palpable effects of such remote origins as vividly as she can portray her estrangement from her nearer relations. She cannot

(nor does she seem to wish to) make such origins have the tangible and moving effects on her definition of self, on her behavior that one sees in Maria Campbell's account. It is not surprising that this reader is so drawn to Campbell's truth, for it asserts the power of combined connection to and effective revision of the past.

Bloodline's greatest eloquence derives from other sources: its anguished questions, its portrayal of radical alienation.

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"I Didn't Know I was Powerless"

by
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The intellectual, emotional and spiritual endurance required to successfully resist the dual forces of oppression and the social disorganization emerging from such conditions are profound examples of the strength and resiliency of Native people. Such fortitude, under most circumstances, would serve as compelling evidence of the durability and power of a given culture. Yet, too often, indigenous people throughout the world appear as a blip on the screen of life, statistically insignificant, invisible, unreal, in spite of their ongoing opposition to contemporary principles of annihilation. Ironically, within various spheres of contemporary society, a surge of interest has developed in "shifting paradigms", yet these shifts appear hopelessly mired in maintaining the status quo and give little more than illusions of progress.

Shifts in perspective are not limited to contemporary society. Continuing work by Native scholars increasingly recognizes the need for cultural and social repatriation; the return of our ways of living, of believing and of doing are critical to the survival of Native peoples. The high levels of cultural integration found within the social structures of Native people have played a key role in our survival and offer critical understandings for our future. Reclaiming the knowledge, wisdom and practices inherent in the philosophies on which Native social structures were organized is an

essential element of reclamation work. Eurocentric translations of Native people and our cultures are no longer relevant.

Contemporary Native women engaged in reclamation work--the process of sifting through and reconnecting cultural foundations--are increasingly debating the ways Native women, defining their power and their roles, and correcting the inaccuracies and distortions which have plagued this history. "I didn't know I was powerless" was a resounding theme in the work of Native women at the D'Arcy McNickle Center in January of 1996. These emotions, these thoughts, are echoed throughout our communities in the daily lives of many Native women. These women understand fully their power, strength, influence and roles in contemporary Native society and have not succumbed to the marginalization of their power.

Although Native women have not escaped unscathed from the history of this nation, we are not defeated. The stories of our grandmothers, mothers, aunties, sisters and friends provide important perspectives on cultures in which resilience, determination and courage in the face of overwhelming odds has meant survival. The work of reclamation includes reconnecting ourselves to our history, our stories, our ways of being, believing and living.

There are many Native women headed home on the road of "re-tribalization" (Medicine). Examining the extent to which we have been indoctrinated to believe "Native women should and Native women are..." and the maddening incongruence which often exists between Native and non-Native cultural perspectives provides fertile ground for individual healing. The lives and stories of our women contain

important contextual perspectives necessary for the reorganization of our communities in culturally meaningful ways.

In examining how the role of Native women will be interpreted, it is important that the diversity of women and the importance of their changing roles be considered in this process of re-examination.

Native women provide leadership by fostering the extended family and clan, empowering the tribal ways, and guiding spiritual practices. In diverse ways, Native women lead tribes and their nations (Goodluck and Humphreys, 1994).

In defining for ourselves the issues, solutions and partnerships necessary to strengthen our communities, we must not diminish the diverse forms of leadership which women provide in our communities. The survival of our cultures and of our people is very much tied to the resistance of our ancestors...the grandmothers and grandfathers, the mothers and fathers...and their incredible determination to survive the unthinkable. Too often, we're presented with models of leadership which focus only on the formally educated scholars, professionals and most visible of activists. While many of these individuals have made great contributions and will continue to do so, we also have incredible reserves of informal helpers and grassroots leaders who play equally important roles in the empowerment and revitalization of Native people and their cultures.

Growing up, I had the luxury of a mother and grandmother who shared enduring stories of life which continually offer a kaleidoscope of teachings, limited only by my ability to draw upon these memories and the lessons being taught. I've found, as I've grown older, many teachings about determination, strength, understanding and courage wrapped in the times and places of long ago. Linger in these memories are my beginnings story.

We used to go stay with Nan in the summers. Her home was surrounded by tiger lilies and lilac bushes and lots of trees. She always kept a bed outside, under the canopy of the trees, covered with a quilt of old dress pieces or

worn out jeans. A place of refuge on hot, summer days, a place of dreaming and drifting and an outdoor gathering spot for frequent visitors. Nan gardened, and canned, and cooked continually. She was always busy, ready to feed those who came or looking for a small gift to give when they left. I still really miss her.

Check day meant a trip into town. One time, right at supply time, it really poured rain. The roads were full of mud, too much, even for the best of mud drivers. Nan gathered us all up and said we were going to dry the roads up. We walked to the top of the hill, to the worse part of the road, where clay soap and mud came together. She started digging little drainage ditches in the road, so the standing water could move on. She didn't believe in just sitting around waiting for something to change, she helped it happen. Things that were important to her, took priority and she got them done.

Raised by her grandmother, after the death of her mother in childbirth, my grandmother attended Chilocco Boarding School as a young woman. The environment of "total control" at Chilocco and its emphasis on domesticity training have been well-documented (Lomawaima 1993). My grandmother, like many others, was successful at resisting the forces of indoctrination and remained connected to the traditional rearing she received, in spite of the boarding school training.

She was always baking pies for doings. She wouldn't use canned fruit for fillings, everything came from scratch. She'd take us outside to climb the cherry tree, or peel apples, or get out the gooseberries she canned. She was willing to help out, to cock at services, to sit at the drum. I think about her when I'm making pies. She always brushed her tops with milk and then sprinkled sugar on it. Our thoughts become a part of what we prepare, have good thoughts. Make things special, do what you can to help others out.

I was born in 1957, in town. I remember feelings of fear, of uncertainty in my early years. Growing up on public assistance, we were always subject to a caseworker coming unannounced, going through our home, our closets, our icebox. I knew at an early age we could

be taken if all was not well in the eyes of this person, who I learned to fear. Summer visits to my grandmother were reprieves.

Down at Soldier Creek, there was a place where cars were once able to cross. I remember driving through that spot and how scared I was as the car headed up the sharp bank. Right near the crossing, was our swimming spot. It seemed shady, but at the same time really bright. Timber surrounds the creek and this one spot seemed like a waterfall should have been there. All of us kids really looked forward to going to the creek, but we didn't get to go there all the time.

I was bawling around about leaving and walking back to the house. My fit didn't have the effect I wanted and I can remember getting mad. I crossed my arms and went stomping down the road with my eyes shut. I was probably holding my breath too because I don't think I heard what my mom and grandma were saying to me. Anyway, I fell in the water filled ditch. Boy, I was really shocked and had to be pulled out. They both got after me and said that's what happens when you stomp around mad. They must have known how magic the swimming spot was to us. They kept it that way by not letting us take it for granted. It was our treat for a long time. They must have seen me walking toward the ditch too, but they knew we have to realize things for ourselves. I was really sorry when I got pulled out of the ditch and quit stomping around mad--with my eyes shut anyway.

Our strength as Native women is reflected in our resistance to a cultural war being waged on a number of fronts. Attempts at marginalizing Native women by those claiming to better understand our needs, priorities, values and solutions is not a current phenomenon, but another example of the resistance countered.

Our reservation has been a "hot spot" for the study of "Indians" since being established in 1846. Nan was approached on numerous occasions by many different people, wanting the inside story on Potawatomis. Initially, there were the anthropologists, followed by the doctorate students, the radical professors, the hippies and the women's libbers. The libbers were especially insistent about converting Nan to their "bra-burning" ways. She was probably already in her 70's then. When pushed about her refusal to "become liberated" by burning her bra, she had to tell them, we never allowed them to put those things on us in the first place.

I've thought about the influence and power of both my mother and grandmother as it's reflected in their perspectives on life. Neither would consider themselves powerless. I thought about myself as well as I'd have to say that there were times I thought myself powerless and it happened. As a "city kid" I was confused by the disparity between what I was taught in school about Indians and what I saw in my mom and grandma. Socialization at school emphasized powerlessness. I felt like I didn't fit because I never saw my family or our experiences in school. I didn't realize the problem was not fitting the distortion. Fortunately, I had Native women to teach me the ways of being, believing, and living that I'm only now beginning to fully understand.

I give thanks to the participants of the Gender Seminar for traveling with me and teaching me. Me-gwetch.

Gender Complementarity in Roberta Hill Whiteman's "Star Quilt"

by
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In the tradition of introductory poems like Ralph Waldo Emerson's "Sphinx" or Robert Frost's "The Pasture," Roberta Hill Whiteman's title poem, "Star Quilt" is a threshold poem. Set apart from the other sections of the book, it provides an entry to the topics, themes, and styles of the remaining poetry in the collection. While the threshold poem is a convention of Western *belle lettres*, "Star Quilt" represents the culture, history, and survival of twentieth century American Indians. As poetic paradigm, "Star Quilt" establishes the dialogism of gender complementarity and orality commonly found in contemporary Native American literature.

Roberta Hill Whiteman is Oneida and grew up in Wisconsin. Her first collection of poetry, Star Quilt (1984), contains poems she had worked on as early as 1972 (Bruchac 1987: 326) and previously published in a number of periodical venues. The book is illustrated by her husband, Ernest Whiteman. Her second collection, Philadelphia Flowers (1996), demonstrates the same careful craftsmanship with similar themes and techniques and is again illustrated by Ernest Whiteman. According to the final page of Philadelphia Flowers, Roberta Hill Whiteman is currently an Assistant Professor of English and American Indian Studies at the University of Wisconsin.

The poet's acquaintance with Plains Indian cultures may be traced to her proximity to the Dakotas, her marriage to Ernest Whiteman, Arapaho, and her graduate education at the University of

Montana. She utilizes the Plains star quilt as the central image for the title poem and the collection. In the glossary to Star Quilt, she identifies its significance as an emblem of wholeness of time and place:

Plains Indian women make quilts with a central star for their children and grandchildren. A young man seeking a vision may take one to use during that time. Some are also used as blankets. In either case, it is a valued possession, connecting the generations to one another and to the earth. (Whiteman 1986: 79)

Even in her own definition, Whiteman acknowledges that the star quilt as a belonging is not a gender specific object.

In their discussion of the star quilt, Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine outline the historical transition from painted tipi dew curtains made of skins to quilted, cloth wall-hangings with the prominence of the star design. Albers and Medicine (1983: 133-134) also note that the design has symbolism that is not gender specific:

The diamond-shape widely used in traditional artwork, and now an elementary component of star quilts, simultaneously represents a female symbol of fertility, the turtle, and male symbol of war, the feather.

Nevertheless, the production of the quilt seems to be explicitly female labor.

Labor in the production of Whiteman's poetry volume appears to be divided along gender lines, but reveals a complementarity that represents a wholeness in presentation. The romantic idea of a poet is that of the individual artist inspired by personal muses. However, the illustrations of Ernest Whiteman complement the visual appearance of the publication. The cover art of Star Quilt has two matching star quilt designs symmetrically placed on the left and right of the title. The primary illustration consists of four views

of a woman who is facing the four cardinal directions as she is presented with left and right profiles and front and back views. At the bottom of the cover is the printed title: Poems by Roberta Hill Whiteman. Just slightly to the right and above the "n" in Whiteman is Ernest Whiteman's scripted signature. This visual presentation of the volume presages the wholeness of literary text to be found within. Not only are the images symmetrical and complementary, but so is the artistic division of labor.

In an interview with Joseph Bruchac (1987: 326), Whiteman acknowledges her intent to use the piecing together of the star quilt as a metaphor for crafting of words. She also indicates her desire for the wholeness as illustrated on the cover and within the poems themselves:

In working with the book, putting the book together, I had the idea of thinking of six directions: the Earth, and the Four Directions and then the Sky.

She then comments that the poem and the collection complete the whole journey by returning to the dirt of the earth.

The poem, "Star Quilt," also suggests wholeness and gender complementarity. The first line of the poem, "These are notes to lightning in my bedroom," introduces the reader to a quilt that is not a decorative wall-hanging but a cover to the marital bed. "Lightning" as a noun represents the electrical charge of a storm, but the homophonic meaning also suggests an aspect of buoyancy or joy or an erotic charge. "These" are identified in the following lines as the patches of the star design, but in the tradition of the threshold poem may be referencing the poems that will follow. Further, the star is "forged" of disparate elements, the colorful

patches of material that become tropes for "diamond suckers" and "children," thus completing the image of sexual union with its natural product--progeny. The individual sections, when joined together, also show complementarity or how the whole can be greater than the sum of the parts.

The protective image of the quilt merges with an earthy reference to a Chinook in the second stanza. The comforting "warm clouds" contrast with the dazzling "lightning" of the opening line. The quilt "covers...cuts" and also covers distinguishing racial differences of the author's "red birch clusters" against the whiteness of "pine," echoing the color contrasts of the quilt patches.

In the third stanza, the implied author, Whiteman, engages in dialogue with a persona whom the reader may assume is her husband. The possessive pronoun of "your mouth" introduces direct address. The image is accompanied by the emergence of "legend, and wide as the plain" suggesting both the heritage of orality and indigenous place. The author speaks in first person, invoking inextricable connections of land, self and intimacy: "I hope Wisconsin marshes / promise your caress."

The natural images of the fourth stanza intimate the joy of eroticism as her "mothlike heart / flies nightly among the geraniums." The poet acknowledges the importance and recurrence of moths throughout the collection and associates them with "intense love" (Bruchac 1987: 327). This fertile, organic imagery of "forest smells" allows sexuality to be sensual, natural, and celebratory.

The following lines converge the dialogue into the plural first person, "We." The "We" is not only the union of individuals, but a collective historical tribal voice. The poem shifts from the intimacy of the individual star quilt to the American Indian communal past of "sorrow, an eddy in blood." That image is introduced by reference to "lonely land" and beef hides, sources of painted skins that were predecessors to star quilts.

Returning to the star quilt and the sacrificial labor that produced it, images of healing and survival prevail. The piecing together of the patches is the piecing together of the past as the poet evokes: "Star quilt, sewn from dawn light by fingers / of flint." Dawn suggests birth and beginning while aged fingers remind the reader of history, thus eliciting the temporal wholeness of past, present, and future.

The last stanza begins with a restorative and ritualistic plea to "anoint us with grass and twilight air." The closing lines return us to the earth, completing the circular Sacred Hoop, hoping for a rebirth: "two bitter roots/ pushing back into the dust.". Looking back to the "dust" of tribal history may propel us to our future.

Finally, the poem is a statement of survival in most fundamental aspects--continuation of posterity. As Albers and Medicine (1983: 133) observe, like the image of the quilt itself, the poem and "the star quilt ha[ve] come to represent the preservation of family and community honor." Unlike the grand classical tradition of love poetry that objectifies and consumes beloved individuals, Whiteman demonstrates that true love allows both entities to be represented. The dialectic present in the poem acknowledges that both voices

should be heard. Intimacy and balance of gender complementarity then become a paradigm for relations between cultures and races where no group should be subservient to another.

As a threshold poem, Star Quilt sets a pattern for the remaining poems in the collection. Indeed, the four sections of poetry that follow exhibit many of the same themes: continuity, wholeness, return to the earth, and dialogue. Each section begins with a line drawing illustration by Ernest Whiteman which correlates to the content of the poems. Additional drawings randomly illustrate various poems. The sections are titled: Sometimes in Other Autumns, ...Fighting Back the Cold with Tongues, Love the Final Healer, and Music for Two Guitars.

The first poem in Sometimes in Other Autumns is titled "Directions." This poem acknowledges circularity in the cardinal directions, beginning "Walk east" and rounding out with the opening line of the last stanza: "The moon leans west." It also engages in dialogue and direct address: "I saw your picture...Like you, I wait first light to strike/ darkness...To find a lost tradition, I would watch your heart for signs" (emphasis added). Clearly, this lyric journey of recovery and wholeness is not solo, but requires participation of an "other."

The title of the section, "...Fighting back the Cold with Tongues" is an epigraph from Whiteman's college instructor and mentor, Richard Hugo (McCullough 1985: 194). Several poems from this section have personal dedications. The last poem of this section is titled "I'Uni Kwi Athi? Hiatho." Whiteman's glossary reveals that this is the untranslated name of her father. Revealing patrilineal

influences in a matrilineal tribal organization, the poem is a loving tribute: "You showed me and how under snow and darkness, / the grasses breathe for miles." These concluding lines also display hope and continuity.

Ernest Whiteman's pastoral scene of mountains and a pond framed by a tree and inhabited by a dragonfly and bird introduce *Love, The Final Healer*. Two of the poems are for two of the Whiteman's children, Heather and Jacob. Another poem is dedicated to Richard Hugo. The overall themes of the poems from this section are love and healing. *Scraps Worthy of Wind* speaks of forgiveness and reconciliation: "I must run toward each moment / and learn to look at earth again." Images of reconciliation embrace the earth. In the poem that has the same title as the section, Whiteman entreats:

After every turn of innocence and loss,
in the awful stillnesses to come,
when we give what's true and deep,
from the original in ourselves,
love, the final healer, makes certain
that we grow.

For Whiteman, the "original" includes ties to land, to Oneida images of the trickster mosquito and other tribal allusions.

The "original" from the individual self also inspires the dialogic in *Music for Two Guitars*. This concluding section begins with a love poem "to Ernie." Nearly all of the poems either engage a dialectic between "I" and "You" or have a first person plural, "We." In a dream of rebirth, the poet recounts four centuries of sorrow and grief. Addressing the anger of injustice, she proclaims:

We need to be purified by fury.
Once more eagles will restore our prayers.
We'll forget the strangeness of your pity.
Some will anoint the graves with pollen.

Some of us may wake unashamed.
Some will rise that clear morning like the swallows.

Like the "bitter roots" of the "Star Quilt" that return to the dirt, this anger seeks reconciliation and wholeness through sacred ritual and rebirth. Although other interpretations may be viable, the overall implication of the "We" is Ernest and Roberta, male and female together, complemented by voices of the communal, tribal whole.

The image of the star quilt is set forth in the title poem. Subsequent poems in the collection piece together many similar images. Those visual and verbal images include cultural and historical allusions, reconciliation, and dialectic between male and female. Working together, Ernest and Roberta Hill Whiteman have produced a modern work of gender complementarity.

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Closing Comments for the Seminar on the Construction of Gender
and Women's Experience in American Indian Communities
January, 1995

by
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My mother used to say my interest in Indian history was inevitable, given my birth on the 4th day of the 4th month of the 44th year of this century. "Fine," I mutter to myself, glancing at the clock and noting in the dark of early morning a disturbing set of numbers which match my birth date. But that doesn't help me figure out what to say just a few hours from now to a group of folks who have comprised this seminar. During this week, I suspect some of you may have recalled the adage I passed along during my welcome a week ago: life is what happens to us when we have made other plans. You have grumble, 'no, what he meant was seminars are what happen to us when we have made other plans."

We all came to Chicago, I believe, with, if not different plans, at least with what is often labeled different cultural baggage--baggage that did not get lost at O'Hare but which accompanied us to the Newberry and which for the most part, relatively undisturbed, will follow us home. That baggage includes our own particular way of speaking and not speaking, listening and not listening, our own collection of values, of life experiences, that all help shape who we are.

I sit here this morning, as the cars grow in force on Ohio, as the drivers line up for meals at McDonalds of a different sort than we have enjoyed this week, as the rain continues to fall. I realize how much I have missed the sun this week. I think about my father, who died in

early 1994. A Norwegian immigrant steel mill worker's son, his own American life journey still surprises me. Despite the odds at different, difficult moments in his life, he remained somehow resolute in his optimism that despite everything, we had to push forward, keep moving on. I miss him. He and I never tired of the words from Tennyson's "Ulysses," in which the poet reminds us that even though we continue to grow older, it is not too late to seek a better world, that we should continue to strive, to seek to find, and not to yield.

That poem also reminds us that in one way or another part of who we are is shaped by whom we have met. I want to echo what I said on Monday evening--that I am grateful for the untiring efforts, the professionalism, and the knowledge which informed what Pat Albers and Bea Medicine and Brenda Child and Ray Fogelson brought to the construction and carrying out of this seminar. I know that not all of you have always agreed at every moment with every sentence they uttered or approach they employed. If you had, in fact, they probably would have been quite disappointed. Nonetheless, I know you join me in thanking them for all they have done to inform and enrich the proceedings of this seminar. I would also like to repeat my thanks to B. Kay Manuelito, who may recall my quoting Bob Thomas about the difficulty of keeping a group like this somewhat on track and headed in the same direction; Bob used to say it was like trying to drive a flock of wild turkeys. B. Kay, thank you for all you have done, behind the scenes and more visibly, to feed us, house us, assist us, and to remind your elders about obligations and opportunities.

When I think about striving, seeking, finding, and not yielding, I think of all of you who have somehow kept persisting, whose lives and work are important. We have had ample evidence of that importance this week. I will carry with me clear and distinct memories of your eloquence and your courage, embedded in the stories I hoped and knew you would tell, of work in prisons and in shelters, in schools and in communities, in disciplines and in colleges and universities. Thank you all.

We arrived, I think, with a great range of agendas and expectations, befitting the assortment of people, places, and fields of study represented. When B. Kay assembled us the other day for the photo--and of course to greet one of our participants as she inconspicuously made her entrance--she joked about the choir gathered together. But it is not, nor should it be, a choir where we will sing with same voice. I know that inevitably in some ways the seminar has met your expectations and in other way perhaps it has not. From the Center's standpoint, of course, we are a history center and our focus has been derived deliberately from a concern for history, broadly defined and interpreted. We see the week as not just an end in itself but as part of the ongoing Indian Voices program. In addition to bibliographies and notes, conversations not completed and questions not answered, we think the occasional paper will be a vital document to emerge. I hope you will carry with you personal connections newly established or reinforced that will continue to yield their own rich rewards in the months and years to come.

It is surely impossible and probably unwise for one person to try to summarize our conversations and exchanges this week. And so I won't. What I would like to do is to present something more evocative and than to encourage you to speak. I am going to recall the following quotations. I will not identify the speaker--in most instances I will not need to--but I would like to think that this mosaic begins to convey what has taken place here.

"These accounts say more about the culture of the observers than the observed."

"The popular media still haven't gotten the message."

"We have a crisis of representation."

"Indians are the one group to be written about in culturally distanced terms."

"Who has authority?"

"We need to remember the importance of contextualizing Native terms."

"There is currently a lot of homophobic behavior on reservations."

"Now there are all these new people you had to show respect to and who could make demands upon you."

"They can't fight any longer but they can still be nasty."

"I've never heard that myth interpreted in that way."

"It's knowing your way around a place you've never been in before."

"My grandmother had mixed recollections about her boarding school experience."

"There were children who attended the schools for two, three, four, or more years without ever going home."

"She calls the school graduates alumni; I call them veterans."

"The Haskell superintendent said it was pointless to start the school year until October."

"I'd prefer a live cowboy to a dead scholar."

"These letters show the strength of Indian families and of tribal ties."

"I want to speak about representation, agency, emotion/violence, and personal connection."

"There is work for non-Natives and Natives to do on these subjects."

"So they came up with a deal where they would take their bloomers off and hide them behind the hedge."

"There might be age-graded bases for crossing so-called divisions of labor."

"Gathering implies a passive task with little forethought or care, even this is not true; plant procurement is a better term."

"This has consequences for land claims and water rights cases."

"This is a book that shows how kinship works, that kinship is an integral part of the social fabric of the community."

"The effects of colonization are inconsistent."

"Patrilineal descent doesn't necessarily disempower women."

"Is gender a cultural construction?"

"We don't understand each other's language."

"Bea has volunteered to protect me, so I'll forge ahead."

"We said we put Wakpala on the map."

"What map?"

"I keep the post office open."

"I sometimes think I made a mistake when I gave up my Native religion."

"Poor Anna, she married a full-blood."

"Yes, but he fed all of you."

"She had a good command of the language; she was always asking people what a word meant."

"She could be very charming."

"We never know what is going to happen to what we write."

"We get more charming as we age."

"He was a non-person...I mean a non-Indian person."

"The women got longer sentences."

"The women were more likely to be subjected to mind-altering drugs."

"No one had ever heard of the Indian Child Welfare Act."

"They could not touch their children."

"We initially had no sense of ownership of the group and then Christine Red Cloud took over."

"We opened the first residence shelter on an Indian reservation."

"The Episcopal Church denied permission."

"He came into the meeting and said, 'I am still forty years old and I can still get it up.'"

"Tell cat, mother is coming."

"The Indian Act would determine who was considered an Indian."

"In 1985 there were four kinds of Indians."

"Different bands made different decisions about membership."

"Now there were born-again Indians."

"There are these white feminists who know what's best for all women."

"When we think about collaboration between Natives and non-Natives, we have to ask, 'Why are you doing this?'"

"We have to think about reciprocity and responsibility."

"No more kinship charts."

"That article, by, you know, what's his face..."

"Right, right...right , , , right...right, right."

"I feel like I can't trust the ethnographic literature."

"They wind up thinking that anthropologists are just making it up."

"Maybe ethnography is the anthropologist's mythology."

"Students are really interested in gender."

"It does address racism in South Dakota."

"Factionalism and division are not necessarily negative things."

"It has a good title: 'All My Sins are Relative.'"

"With this anthology, if you can lift it, you can teach it."

"Oh, is that your wife?...Oh, well, I think so highly of her work."

"But what does she have to say about men?"

"It's not prehistory, but ancient history."

"Wrapping yourself in that Chilkat blanket was wrapping yourself in Tlingit history."

"I call it the last of the blank syndrome."

"They were all placing Indians safely in the past."

"The Navajos do not have a separate word for art or religion,
because there is no need for it."

"Who is an elder?"

"And four, final concluding thoughts."

"I am going to walk away from this seminar an enlightened man."

"I am from the Fish Clan and I've stopped trying to go up river."

"You do the best you can with what you have."

"There is still a lot of work to do."